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9 October 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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9 October 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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WARSAW PACT RECONNAISSANCE OPERATIONS DETAILED

Bonn TRUPPENPRAXIS in German Vol 28 No 8, Aug 84 pp 590-593

[Article by Lt Col Arnold Lauterbach: "Reconnaissance Through Combat by Warsaw Pact Ground Forces; an Example of Combined Arms Combat"]

[Text] The author gives a graphic and detailed description of the importance accorded to "reconnaissance through combat" in the Warsaw Pact--an indication for this is the high echelon of the tasking authority--and what operations can result from it.

He demonstrates further that today's Warsaw Pact commanders are very much in a position to engage in combined arms combat, and that they know exactly how to take advantage of all opportunities to form combat teams in a flexible manner. This is a very instructive article and one well worth reading.

General

Warsaw Pact doctrine is based on the fact that in modern combat the operations of both sides proceed at high speed. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that situations may arise in which the thrust of the attack by the forward echelons is broken and combat comes temporarily to a halt.

In such a situation reconnaissance through combat is a means for gaining insight into the enemy situation, and thereby for the deployment of newly introduced forces, thus permitting the initiative on the battlefield to be regained.

Reconnaissance through combat--in National People's Army (NVA) terminology known as "forcible reconnaissance"--is therefore considered an important method for field reconnaissance.

Despite the widely available effective technical reconnaissance resources and other methods of field reconnaissance, it is used only when it is the only means of obtaining reliable reconnaissance information. The expected heavy losses in men and materiel as well as the high cost in ammunition are freely

accepted. Because reconnaissance through combat can be ordered only by the commander of an army or higher, it is significant for the conduct of an operation at that level.

#### Purpose

Reconnaissance through combat is conducted while on the defensive, but preferably as part of the preparation for an attack.

In defensive operations, its objective is the timely recognition of the approach of enemy units and to draw conclusions about intended enemy offensive operations from the enemy battle formation, the identity of the units and from captured documents or prisoner interrogation.

If reconnaissance through combat is used in support of the preparation of a friendly offensive operation, the army commander is primarily interested in:

- forcing the enemy to fight while on the defensive and thereby to divulge his fire plan and his battle formation (e.g., demarcation lines between major fighting components, reserves, etc);

- to occupy key territory from which surveillance of the enemy can be conducted in depth;

- to take prisoners, capture weapons, equipment and documents;

- timely recognition of enemy attempts to evade (discontinue the defense);

- to the extent necessary, update or confirm information on the forward edge of the battle area (FEBA).

As a secondary objective, reconnaissance through combat improves the initial situation for the forthcoming attack by:

- occupying enemy positions in the FEBA;

- destroying antitank weapons in the FEBA;

- detecting barriers in the FEBA and in the depth of the enemy defense area.

Reconnaissance through combat can therefore serve also to initiate an offensive by the main force.

#### Personnel and Equipment/Tactical Grouping

For purposes of reconnaissance through combat, combat battalions from the second or, exceptionally, first regimental echelons which are "in actual contact with the enemy" are used as a rule.

Depending upon the situation and the mission, the motorized infantry/armored battalion is reinforced by:

--one armored/motorized infantry company;

--one or two artillery battalions;

--one engineer platoon;

--minesweeping equipment.

In addition, the motorized infantry/armored battalion can be augmented by:

--artillery groups,

--tank destroyers,

--aviation (fighter bombers and combat helicopters),

--army anti-aircraft troops.

"Independent reconnaissance squads" with special tasks advance with the attacking reinforced battalion (tank reconnaissance personnel, engineers, NBC defense specialists, artillerymen). They move either as part of the battalion's battle formation or immediately behind it. They use gaps and intervals in the enemy battle formation to enter the enemy's defense zone during the combat action as unobtrusively as possible.

#### Width of Reconnaissance and Attack

In deciding the width of the operations area for reconnaissance through combat the situation and the mission are the decisive factors. In the textbook version, an augmented battalion should attack along a width of 1-1.5 km. The strength ratio to be expected in that case--one RED augmented combat battalion versus one BLUE combat company--holds high promise for success.

#### Command, Organization and Execution

Reconnaissance through combat is preceded by a preparation period of up to 3 days. The overall plan is provided by the staff of the commander who has ordered the operation (Army commander). However, the operation is, for practical purposes, conducted by the staff of the regiment from which the combat battalion has been drawn. It is augmented by Army headquarters officers and by experts in reconnaissance. All reconnaissance reports converge in that staff. Here they are collected, analyzed and evaluated. Insights thus gained are immediately reported to Army command.

The augmented regimental command post makes it possible to quickly deploy the remaining forces of the regiment and thus to extend successful reconnaissance by an attack if the enemy situation makes this advisable.

The command function during joint reconnaissance by all participating commanders (the commander of the motorized infantry/armored battalion is just one of several) is exercised by the Army commander or one of his vice

commanders. While reconnaissance is in progress and after receiving his orders, the commander of the augmented combat battalion develops his operational plan and makes his decision. An important part of this are the measures for the protection and support of the proposed operation of the reconnaissance groups which are not under the command of his battalion and which are working on specific tasks.

Reorganization to establish the combat formation (Figs 2 and 3) takes place during the night. The bulk of personnel required for reconnaissance through combat is usually concentrated in one of the battalion's company deployment areas. Also usable by personnel preparing for reconnaissance through combat can be an unused area--e.g., a gap between two battalion defense zones of the first regimental echelon. The procedure for occupying that space is shown in Fig 3. Some personnel remain in the vacated company deployment areas of the battalion of the 1st regimental echelon to serve as cover and to confuse the enemy (Fig 2). Artillery pieces intended for direct lay firing are emplaced immediately behind the main force of the combat battalion or remain in their positions in the FEBA.

To avoid premature concentration of forces the combat battalion's combat formation is not initiated until shortly before the attack begins. During this critical phase too the battalion must be able to defend itself against enemy surprise attacks. Radio silence is observed until the start of reconnaissance through combat.

During the fire preparation all commanders observe the battlefield and immediately convert new knowledge into firing tasks. Tanks and APCs only then proceed from their positions to the dismounted motorized infantrymen.

The assault starts at a predetermined signal, with all weapons firing. The independent reconnaissance squads advance with the attacking battalion. With the defender tied down by the attacking main force, the independent reconnaissance squads penetrate his defense zone and fulfill their mission there.

If the augmented battalion has taken the objective of its attack, it prepares for its defense and for repelling enemy counterattacks. Should the enemy take evasive action however, the battalion follows through and extends its successful action. The combat team is then in a position to immediately assume the character of a forward or pursuit team. On the other hand, if the enemy counterattacks vigorously, the battalion may be ordered to take evasive action toward its initial departure point.

#### Tasks for Units Which Participate in the Combat Action Indirectly

--Artillery reconnaissance reconnoiters enemy artillery emplacements (using radio, sound ranging and electronic intelligence equipment);

--Engineer reconnaissance: detects barriers, obstacles and emplacement construction--especially in view of protection against NBC warfare use;

--Communications reconnaissance: primarily identifies communications networks, the location of command and observation posts and evaluates them tactically;



--Air reconnaissance: observes the battlefield, primarily provides surveillance of the location of nuclear weapons, reserves and artillery emplacements. Helicopters are particularly useful for observation.






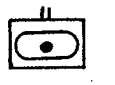

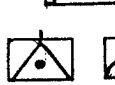
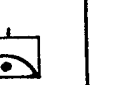
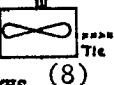

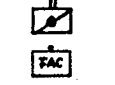

### Summary/Evaluation

Reconnaissance through combat is used when other reconnaissance methods do not provide sufficient enemy information. It requires careful, frequently long-term planning to be successful. Such preparations are concealed by camouflage and deception measures. Troop movements take place primarily at night. However, comprehensive reconnaissance data can be acquired only when the attack takes place in daylight. Narrow combat areas provide a guarantee of at least initial success. In an operation, principles used are those of an attack on a close-range objective or those of a probing attack.

The object of this article was to call attention to the many opportunities of the Warsaw Pact ground forces to form combat teams as a result of using reconnaissance through combat. However, the composition of these combat teams requires that commanders are knowledgeable in combined arms combat up to the regimental level and that battalion commanders too are capable of directing a variety of forces on the battlefield. The combat efficiency of these combat teams enables them to exploit a favorable situation in a resolute and resourceful manner.

The West frequently underestimates the command capabilities of the potential enemy.

However, specialized and goal-directed officer training and education and Warsaw Pact exercises furnish an indication that the youthful commanders are better able than were their predecessors to convert principles into practice, to consider the overall situation and to conduct combined arms combat even at the intermediate level.

(1) Führung	(2) Angreifende/im Feind aufklärende Kräfte/CAS	(3) unmittelbare Feuer- unterstützung/Sonst.	(4) Luftunter- stützung	(5) zusätzlicher Beobachter/ techn. Aufklärung
 (6) 1) Verst. d. 1. Bn. 2) Verst. d. 1. Bn. 3) Verst. d. 1. Bn. 4) Verst. d. 1. Bn. 5) Verst. d. 1. Bn. 6) Verst. d. 1. Bn. 7) Verst. d. 1. Bn. 8) Verst. d. 1. Bn. 9) Verst. d. 1. Bn.	              			

Key:

1. Command
2. Attacking Forces/Forces Doing Reconnaissance Behind Enemy Lines/CAS [extension unknown]
3. Direct Fire Support/Other
4. Air Support
5. Additional Observation/Technological Reconnaissance
6. Augmented by Army Command Liaison Officers and Reconnaissance Specialists
7. Fighter-Bombers
8. Combat Helicopters
9. Commanders at all Levels and Branches of Service

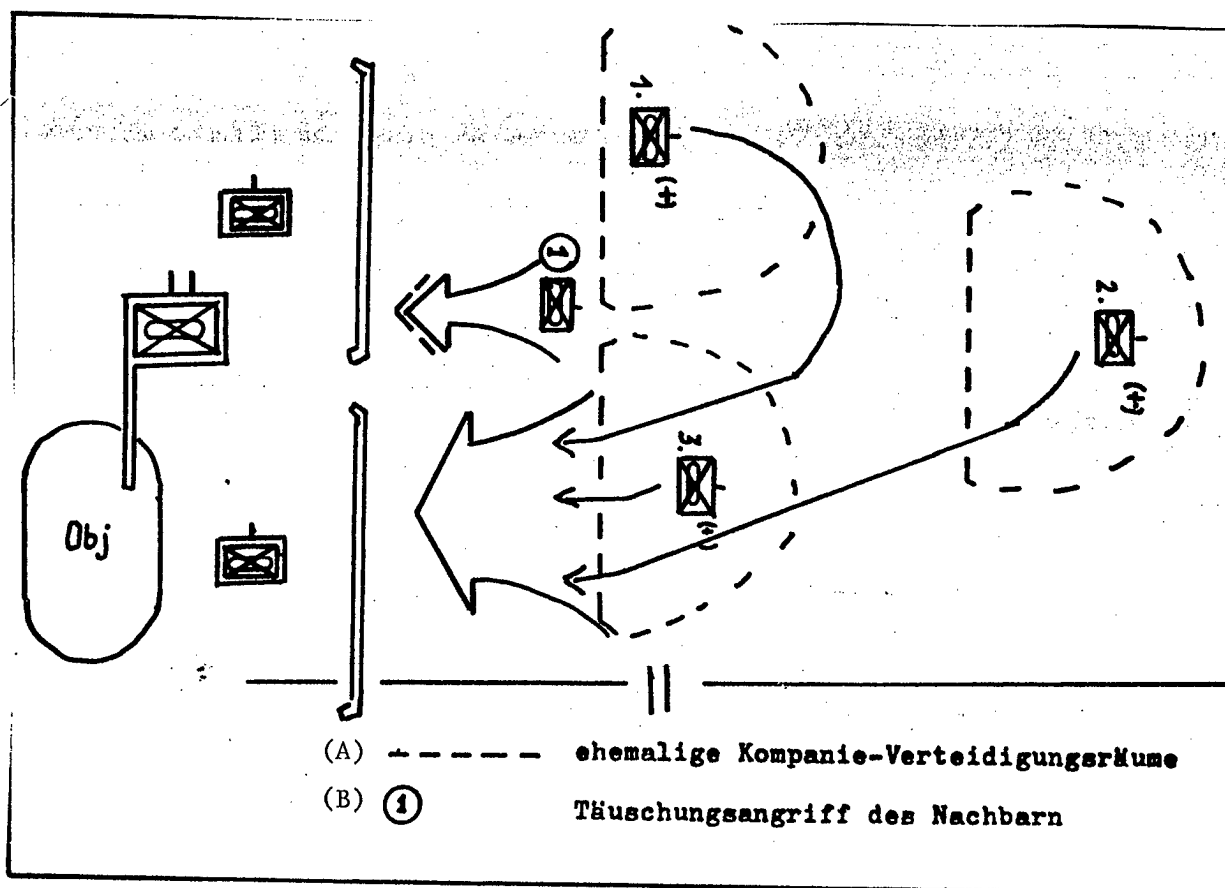


Figure 2. Action by a Motorized Infantry Battalion (augmented by a Tank Company) of the 1st Echelon of the Motorized Infantry Regiment. Reorganization Takes Place Inside the Battalion Defense Area.

Key:

- A. Abandoned Company Defense Areas
- B. Feint Attack by Neighboring Company

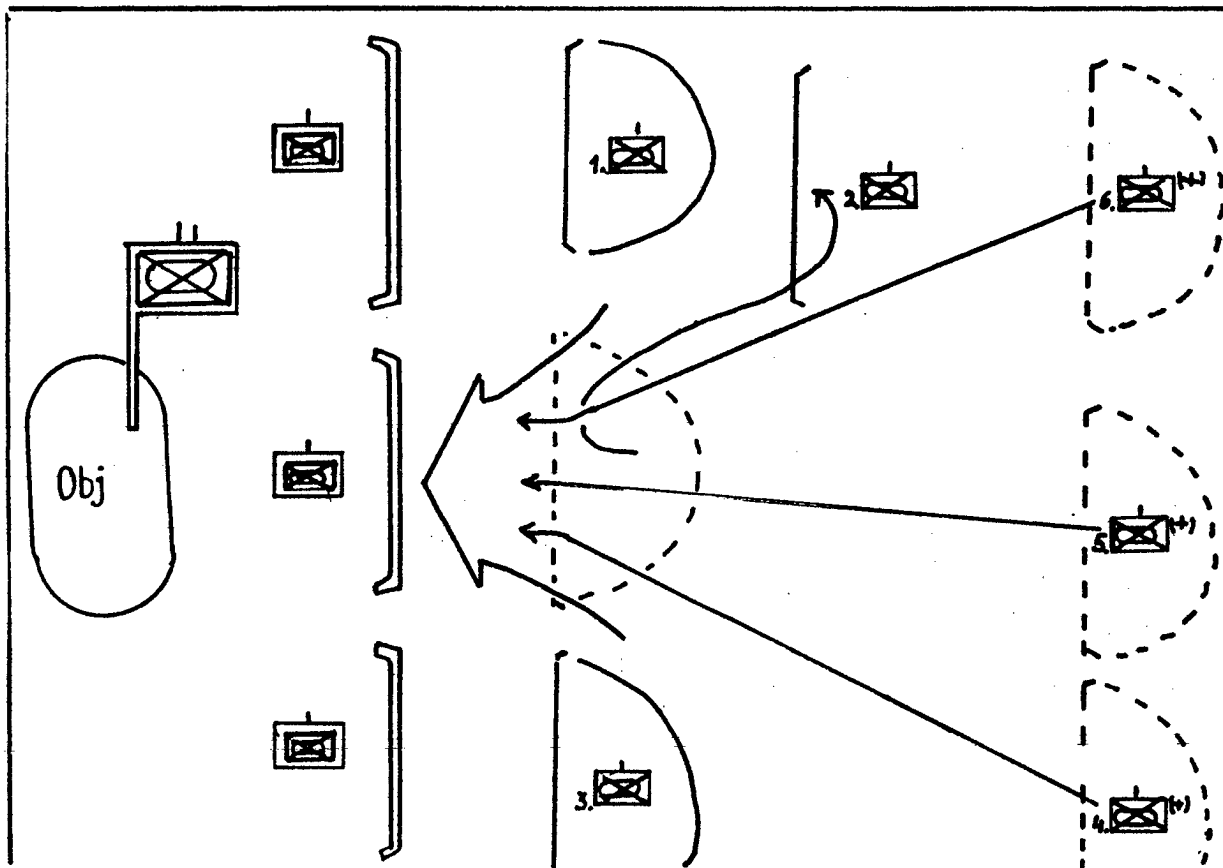


Figure 3. Action by the 4th, 5th and 6th Companies of a Motorized Infantry Battalion (augmented by a Tank Company) from the Second Echelon of the Regiment. The Battalion occupies a "Cleared Company Base Area" of a Battalion used in the 1st Echelon (1st, 2nd and 3rd Companies) to use it as the "Assault Jump-Off Position."

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CSO: 2300/659

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ROMANIANS REPORT ON PARTY MEETING WITH HUNGARIANS

AU042009 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1908 GMT 4 Sep 84

[Text] Budapest, 4 Sep (AGERPRES)--On 3 and 4 September Budapest venue the meeting of secretaries for economic affairs, propaganda, culture, the press and international relations of the CC of the RCP and the CC of the HSWP.

For Romania the meeting was attended by Ilie Verdet, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Petru Enache and Ion Stoian, alternate members of the Executive Political Committee, secretaries of the CC of the RCP.

For Hungary, present were Miklos Ovari and Gyorgy Aczel, members of the Political Bureau, secretaries of the CC of the HSWP, and Matyas Szuros, secretary of the CC of the HSWP.

The talks, which passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere, occasioned an exchange of extensive opinions on the concerns and achievements of the Romanian and Hungarian peoples in the building of the socialist society. The course was highlighted of the manysided relations between the two countries and views were exchanged on important aspects of the international life, of the communist and working-class movement.

The importance was highlighted which the party and state leadership of the two countries, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, attach to the development and expansion of the Romanian-Hungarian multilateral links. In that context, the special significance was brought to the fore of the talks and understanding between the two party leaders and satisfaction was expressed at the results scored after the summit in the development and deepening of bilateral ties on the political, economic, technical-scientific and cultural planes, as well as in other areas of common interest.

The wish was expressed to encourage bilateral collaboration on multilateral planes by agreeing upon cooperation ventures apt to serve the aspirations after progress and welfare of the Romanian and Hungarian peoples, the work of socialist construction in the two neighbour and friendly countries, the cause of socialism, of general progress and peace in the world.

## ALBANIA

### POPULATION TRIPLES IN 40 YEARS

AUL21145 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 12 Sep 84

[Text] Tirana, 12 Sep (ATA)--One of the many successes scored in Albania over these 40 years of free life is also the creation of a population with a young age, which grows at fast and stable rates. As compared with 40 years ago the country's population has tripled. During the last two decades, alone, the growth of the population was the same with the number of inhabitants that the whole country had in the first days of its liberation.

The growth of the population by 3 times in less than half a century is a result of the big steps taken in the field of economy and social-cultural life during the socialist construction of the country.

An important fact is that in this 40th year of the liberation of the homeland the age of more than three-fourths of the population is younger than 40, who are all born and grown up in the years of the people's state power. About 56 percent of the population are employed as against 49 percent of the total population employed 20 years ago. The annual increase of the population in Albania is equal to the number of inhabitants of the district of Gjirokaster or city of Vlore (which holds the fifth place on a republic scale).

The population of Albania keeps growing. While 20 years ago it was the country which had the lowest density of the population in the Balkans, today there are on the average more than 100 inhabitants per square kilometer. Thus, Albania is the country with the highest density of population in the Balkans and one of the countries with the most dense population in Europe.

The social policy pursued by the socialist state to encourage the increase of birth rates and further reduce the infantile mortality is of special importance for the development of demographic processes. Among other measures we may mention the provision of the population with life's necessities such as education, culture, health, housing, etc., free or at low charges, the measures regarding the care and upbringing of the children, the application of low prices for children's articles, etc. The decision for the prolongation of the payable birth's leave to 6 months, applied in 1981, also had an immediate impact on the increase of the number of births.

CSO: 2020/114

## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

DAHOMAY MARXIST DELEGATION VISITS--A delegation of the Communist Party of Dahomey visited our country recently and conducted talks on questions of mutual interest in a fraternal internationalist atmosphere at the AWP Central Committee. The delegation was received by AWP Central Committee member Sofokli Lazri and by Agim Popa, head of the AWP Central Committee Foreign Department. The delegation also visited a number of districts. [Summary] [AU161418 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Sep 84 AU]

ASLLANI AT VETERANS MEETING--The National Committee of the War Veterans of Albania met in the city of Durres today. The meeting was also attended by Muho Asllani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Durres District AWP Committee, and others. Bilal Parruca, deputy chairman of the War Veterans National Committee, delivered a report on the work carried out to implement the decisions of the Fourth National Conference of War Veterans. [Summary] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Sep 84 AU]

MYFTIU MEETS IRANIAN DELEGATION--Comrade Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, today received the Radio-Television delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, led by its general director (Mohammad Hashim), and had a friendly talk with the delegation. The meeting was also attended by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Sokrat Plaka, and Marash Hajati, director general of Albanian Radio-Television. [Text] [AU061357 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Sep 84]

CSO: 2100/63

## FUTURE ROLE OF YOUTH SUGGESTED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Aug 84 p 1

[Text] We often emphasize, and rightly so, that we are living in revolutionary times in which especially the young generation plays an important role and faces outright revolutionary tasks.

It is a generation that grew up during the time of developed socialism, when fundamental qualitative changes in production forces and relationships as well as the resulting substantial changes in human consciousness became extremely pertinent. How are they to be achieved? In no other way than by an intensive development of the economy, by combining the advantages of the socialist system with the findings of the scientific and technological revolution, [i.e.] of that period which is starting to bring about radical changes in many scientific movements and production spheres. At the same time, it is bringing along great demands for the manufacture of new machines [and development] of new mechanisms and technologies, for conquering and utilizing the enormous sources of atomic energy, for the acquisition of new materials, for the development of biotechnologies, for the computerization of the national economy.

We must win, above all, our young generation for these singular tasks. Youth has not only the education and information to undertake them, not only productive years ahead; it has, most of all, the necessary zest for anything new along with the necessary energy and courage. The vigor with which young people enter into this process and also win others over to it will determine how fast the disciplines that represent and enable scientific and technological progress will advance.

Naturally, we cannot be always satisfied with the speed and the effort with which the results of science and technology are being put into practice. The industry, the enterprise, the collective, the manager that actually take the risk and employ a new, hitherto unknown technology are sometimes at a disadvantage when compared with someone who does routine work. Let us just consider how much effort it takes for the robotization of production lines, workplaces and whole enterprises to assert itself. Can we blame only the objective difficulties caused by the introduction of the manufacture of the necessary technologies? Certainly not. The subject, i.e., the human who is supposed to accept them and make them work, gets involved in the game more than anything else. Jihostroj Velesin, CZM [Czech Motorcycle Works] Strakonice, Ostroj in Opava, ZTS Dubnica nad Vahom or Desta in Domazlice, where they have the birthpains

of robotized production behind them, could testify that young workers, too, participated in the effort to apply new production methods. These workers can assert that it had cost them much energy before they persuaded the collective of the need for robotized workplaces, before they succeeded, with the help of some more experienced experts, party personnel managers and communists, in breaking through the dams of suspicion of the new technology, which was not infrequently combined with fear of loss of rank or work skills or fear of economic loss. Thus, they had to forget their own comfort, to show their organizational and argumentative talent, avoid falling into despair after the first setbacks. It is precisely these kinds of things that may appear to many other young people to be something beyond their abilities and skills. Many are deterred in advance by the outdated bad habit of replacing deeds by idle words. But surrender should not be a mark of youth.

There is no doubt that the time has come when it is necessary to pass from a general acknowledgement of the necessity of scientific and technological progress to altogether concrete measures, above all to the formation of conditions that would educate young people to think progressively, to accept scientific and technological progress as an indispensable part of their lives, to be aware of the need to participate in influencing progress and directing it.

In this respect, we are not starting from square one. The conditions for realization of such an educational project were laid 2 years ago, primarily by the acceptance of the Principles for Development and Execution of the Program of Preparation and Inclusion of Children and Youth in Scientific and Technological Development. On the basis of this government resolution, a number of branch ministries adopted measures that are already showing positive results. For instance, in cooperation with the Central Committee of the SSM [Union of Socialist Youth], the Ministry of Electrotechnical Industry solved the question of delivery of microelectronic parts and, to some extent, even the production of electronic units for polytechnical education in leagues of young technicians and other interest groups of children and youth. The experimental audit of the Account of the Youth Initiative, approved by a resolution of the Cabinet of the CSSR, shows that, as a result of speedier solution of problems and execution of tasks of scientific and technological development in the year 1983, the first year of utilizing almost 20 million korunas, 25 establishments showed a profit due above all, to lower production costs. This money is also used for the financial and political safeguarding of the scientific and technical creativity of young people. Gradually, other manufacturing establishments started to move and began to underwrite financially and politically the leagues of young technicians and natural scientists, clubs promoting the scientific and technical creativity of youth, and other groups which through their activities attract ever greater interest on the part of boys and girls.

In designing the above-mentioned comprehensive program, it is of fundamental importance that it attract masses of young people to scientific and technical activity, that it be accessible to them, and that favorable conditions for it be created for all members of the young generation. It is a question of attaining a new quality, of turning the hobbies of a few handfuls of enthusiasts into a goal-oriented scheme, of incorporating their activity into progressive



movements in science and technology and into the goals of the scientific and technological policy of the state.

The plans for the implementation of the program presuppose, therefore, that state agencies and trade organizations, social organizations of the National Front and national committees on all levels will speed up the planning stages, determine their common course and adjust them to the changes in school curricula.

Young people are a force which can mean a lot in the advancement of society. Therefore, we will not leave their education and orientation to chance. To base production on the most modern science and technology, to introduce all that is new and progressive--that is the task of the present-day young generation. It has unprecedented opportunities to use its talents, its gifts and its abilities. This cannot be done without difficulties and failures. It is necessary to give the young ever greater personal responsibility for fulfilling this task. They have to experience its complexity personally.

It is in the interest of all of society for young people to attain early the kind of knowledge and competence that will enable them to accomplish their mission in the process of the scientific and technological revolution successfully.

12435

CSO: 2400/433

HEALTH SYSTEM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA CRITICIZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 29 Aug 84 p 4

[Article: "Charter 77 Criticizes Czech Health System"]

[Text] R. St. Vienna, 27 Aug. The civil rights movement Charter 77 has critically analyzed the Czechoslovakian state-run health system. Its most recent document, addressed to parliament and the minister of health, is based on reports by physicians. It does not stress individual instances of malfunctions which could be accidental but, instead, reveals aberrations of the state-run health service without condemning it wholesale. The aberrations represent the other side of the coin of a system that, according to government claims, takes care of all public health expenses. Charter 77 does not, for instance, specifically mention the fact that dentists for a long time have been giving timely treatment only if paid a bribe. Even though it is against the law, surgeons usually receive a box of candy before an operation which contains not only sweets but also hard cash.

Between Hippocrates and the State

Criticized above all is the fact that health service employees, which includes doctors, must comply with the wishes of the state before being able to concern themselves with the well-being of patients. We read in the document that obedience to the state takes precedence over the oath of Hippocrates. The state does not recognize the confidential nature of the physician-patient relationship, meddling at times even in the choice of treatment and, as a matter of fact, even in the decision whether treatment is necessary at all. Not only hospital doctors but also industrial and military doctors are thus dependent on non-medical authorities.

Since employment-related illnesses and accidents appear as indicators in the state plan, it is to the advantage of employers to let the record show as few of such cases as possible. Thus victims of work-related accidents are often induced to relinquish their claims or to accept compensation in some other form. Since problems in the health service and an increase in instances of illness may worry the people, relevant information is held back or only published in doctored form. The actual state of health of the population remains unknown since there is no medical institution that sees to it that things are done properly and since unimpeded development of public opinion is impossible.

## Adherence to the Five-Year Plan

Strict adherence to the five-year plan also makes a modern health service difficult. It impedes and sometimes prevents the introduction of new diagnostic and therapeutic methods and of new drugs. Reliance on positivistic methods retards both research and practice. The existence of well-organized preventive medicine would lead one to expect that the people, in comparison to other industrial countries, are in a better state of health. However, this is not the case. Even though special attention has been paid to middle-aged men, the group most vulnerable to health problems, their mortality rate has risen. Infant mortality, while lower than that of all other socialist countries, is higher than in western industrial states. The use of baby foods frequently leads to allergies and their consumption is not guaranteed to be without risk.

The Charter '77 report furthermore documents a shortage of medical equipment, x-ray film and a notorious scarcity of medicines. This situation gave rise to a black market in drugs. It seems strange that hospitals even lack such relatively inexpensive items as linens. Exceptions in the form of privileges are an embarrassment from the point of view of a socialist health system. Special facilities are available not only to important party functionaries and all other prominent officials but also to the army, police, and railway administration. These lack nothing, not even foreign pharmaceuticals. Otherwise one has the impression that human beings constitute a bothersome appendage, rather than being the focus of this bureaucratic health system.

12628

CSO: 2300/644

REALISM NOT FICTION NEEDED IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 17 Aug 84 supplement p 6

[Article by Dr S. Wegner-Korfes: "Bismarck Wanted a Balance of Power"]

[Text] Bismarck's maxim, "We must deal with fact and not fiction," is frequently quoted these days because it is of such significance in the international struggle to maintain the peace that even government circles in the capitalist countries are exhibiting more of a realistic approach than aggressive adventurism. In view of this fact it behooves us to recall in particular Bismarck's policies toward Russia. Despite its class consciousness and reactionary origins, his view was characterized by a certain insight into the actual power relationships within Europe.

The international situation, the position of the newly created Prussian-German empire in Europe and also certain interests of the ruling classes--the Prussian Junkers and the increasingly powerful wealthy bourgeoisie--within this nation created by Bismarck allowed this German imperial chancellor in the nearly 20 years he has in power to strive more or less consistently for a realistic policy regarding Russia and in part to realize it. This set him apart from other reactionary politicians. Their goal was to maintain the balance of power between the most important nations in Europe after 1871.

They did not want to endanger the future of the ruling classes in Germany through ill-considered foreign policy. Bismarck wanted communication or if possible even an alliance with the land of the czars. He wanted to avoid serious differences or a break in relations with Russia and above all to prevent a war between the two nations.

The German empire was created by a "revolution from above," by "blood and iron," three wars, the annexation of the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and by suppression of a revolutionary mass movement by the people. One cannot fail to see the limits and contradictions in Bismarck's realistic policies toward Russia. Bismarck believed in an alliance with Russia because he saw in it a means to achieve undisturbed a further weakening of a France bent on revenge since 1871. However, in so doing he drove France to struggle on behalf of its alliance with Russia and ultimately contributed to placing Germany in danger of having to wage a two-front war which he had wanted to prevent. Therein lay one of the contradictions of his policies.

However, that portion of Bismarck's rational considerations on Russian policy which still has significance today is the first German chancellor's realization that a war between Germany and Russia would have to be disastrous for the German nation. History has borne him out. A policy such as Bismarck's toward Russia, which despite its ties to the interests of the reactionary classes still exhibits a certain degree of reason, should give the politicians in modern imperialist nations something to think about.

In this connection we are reminded of the realistic approach conceived four decades ago in the struggle to end the war unleashed by Hitler's fascism. In September 1943 in the Soviet Union my father, Major General Dr Otto Korfes, was a co-founder of the "Alliance of German Officers" within the "Free Germany" movement. He made numerous broadcasts via "Free Germany" radio and wrote articles for the "Free Germany" newspaper. Later in the GDR he was a member of the NDPD (National Democratic Party of Germany) and chairman of the working group for former officers. He saw fascist Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union as a blatant disregard of Bismarck's traditional policy toward Russia.

In a radio broadcast on 14 January 1944, for example, he stated that following the establishment of the empire in 1871 Bismarck recognized, "that in a war fought for political power the German people could gain nothing but instead would run the risk of weakening themselves for no purpose while carelessly throwing the empire's resources into the fray.... That Adolf Hitler would venture to force the German empire into this war is an act which Bismarck would call a crime against the state.... Bismarck sought friendship with Russia as an indispensable kind of security for the empire. Russia believed Hitler's word and trusted his signature, and he saw fit to invade them...."

Therefore, Bismarck's realistic foreign policy legacy should not be forgotten. And neither should the power of those classes in German history and those politicians and military men who have hindered and continue to hinder the implementing of Bismarck's legacy.

12552

CSO: 2300/632

RIGORS OF PARATROOP TRAINING DETAILED

East Berlin SPORT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 32 No 6, Jun 84 pp 8-11

[Article by Doris Moritz: "Paratroopers"]

[Text] Hard men with strong nerves, who master the most daring operations in courageous action -- who do not think of this when the conversation turns to paratroopers. But their operations are not the foolhardy acts of adventurous daredevils, but carefully thought out combat operations that are often carried out unselfishly under the most complicated conditions. For this the paratroopers of the NVA in the "Willi Saenger" unit are thoroughly trained. Their outer sign is the beret, a gray-green one for service and an orange-red one for off-duty wear.

The first thing one thinks about when it comes to paratroopers is jumping. One sees the impressive image in the mind's eye of the tiny points high up in the sky separating from the aircraft, plunging down, and then the parachutes opening and the jumpers floating down combat-ready to the earth. But jumping alone does not make the paratrooper. The flight and the jump "only" bring the paratroopers rapidly and by surprise to the operational area behind enemy lines.

The Order from the Bush

And still it is precisely the parachute jump that the paratroopers do with the greatest pleasure. For this purpose they move into a position with tents, radio station, and field kitchen. They jump day and night from helicopters and airplanes. Only seldom do they have time off. But all the effort and self-denial doesn't dampen the joy of jumping. They wait eagerly for the order to enter the aircraft, they experience the start and flight of the machine with high expectancy, and they burn for the moment when the jumpmaster finally calls for them to jump.

Paratroopers jump in all kinds of weather and with heavy equipment as well. They have a good fifty kilograms to carry: the short Kalashnikovs, combat vests, reserve magazines, protective equipment, rain tarpaulin, explosives, hand grenades, pistol, knife, bandages, first aid kit, and the main and

emergency chutes. The equipment is packed in the paratrooper knapsack that is fastened under the main chute. The jumper releases it just before the landing, and the knapsack glides downward on a safety line.

Most of the NVA paratroopers have learned how to jump in the Society for Sport and Technology (GST) in the premilitary career training. Jens Kolnzer, a 20-year-old private, came from the GST district training center in Karl-Marx-Stadt. He jumped for the first time in 1981. Then there followed 106 further jumps. A respectable accomplishment. But for Jens as well the three military jumps he has made since he has been wearing the beret were new and unusual: the heavy equipment, the rapid reaction of the chute to every movement, the jumps in large groups. Particularly the last group jump Jens will certainly not soon forget: 78 paratroopers were dispatched all at once and drifted toward the earth as he suddenly saw himself under the canopy of a comrade. He had to react with lightening speed! Jens remembered the word of his trainer: During the jump one cannot indulge in one second of inattention, even if the feeling is so intoxicating, the view of the earth so wonderful...

NCO Fred Duhmke, who has experienced more jumps, learned how to jump at the GST in Berlin. In one of the last operations he and his other young comrades again demonstrated that jumping for paratroopers is not a purpose unto itself. First of all a group jump from the An-26. Hours later from the Mi-8-helicopter, then in quicktime 20 kilometers farther to the area of operations. Even though Fred can be a little proud of his condition, he was completely exhausted on the return march to the base and only wanted to rest. But there was no rest, for suddenly they were addressed by a bush. The bush turned out to be a perfectly camouflaged messenger who gave them a further operational order: Four kilometers away a helicopter was to land in 12 minutes that would unload them and take off again in a minute. They scrambled off and reached the goal on time, but they were so tired that they could barely creep into the helicopter. It started right on the second. In the small helicopter they had to change clothes, exchanging their combat suits for close-fitting neoprene outfits, and receive NBC equipment, machine pistol, knife, mines, and circulatory diving apparatus. And then the helicopter was hovering over a water surface. Fred and his comrades jumped out of the helicopter, landed in the water, and swam away to carry out a new combat mission.

#### Knowledge -- Not only Theoretical

Paratroopers are specialists in modern combat operations, and reconnaissance behind enemy lines is one of their most important missions. The enemy is to be met at his most sensitive locations -- for example, command posts, traffic junctions and information centers. Here surprise is of decisive significance. Therefore there are often dozens of kilometers between the landing and operational areas, and they must cover this ground under cover. For this, the paratroopers must be able to get along in all kinds of terrain. Neither can mountains and cliffs hold them back from carrying out their combat missions. And therefore mountain climbing also is included in the training.

In the rocky Central Mountain Range, our paratroopers train in everything that belongs to the basic rules of mountain climbing. They learn the important rules of mountain behavior, how one "goes in" and rappels. The correct professional evaluation of the mountain walls is part of this, and the finding of favorable climbing paths, the hammering in of safety rings and petons, the use of the rope, first aid, and the transportation of injured personnel. Mountain climbing requires the best physical and psychic constitution and makes the greatest demands on strength, endurance, courage, self-control, orientation ability, and collective spirit -- and naturally demands Alpine knowledge. Every paratrooper must master the difficulties of each of the climbing techniques -- wall climbing, the simple fissure, the chimney technique -- he must know the technique of rappeling, and not just theoretically!

### The Whole Man is Challenged

Whoever becomes a paratrooper in the NVA wants to do so with his whole heart. He knows that he must serve at least three years. Three hard years in which he is often driven to the limit of his endurance. "I have always engaged in sports," NCO Torstein Kniep said, "track and car racing. When I thought about doing my military service, the extensive paratrooper training intrigued me, all the sport involved. It was obvious to me that I would go into the army for three years. One just has to look around in the world..." In this or in similar ways every paratrooper could explain how he got into the unit.

The 19-year-old Torsten prepared himself in Cottbus for his military service -- in condition and in jumping. Twenty-two jumps had been recorded in his jump book by the time he was allowed to put on the paratrooper beret. But things were not different for Torsten than for the other young paratroopers. In spite of all the preparations, the first weeks were hard, and often he had to grit his teeth. It began already with morning sport: 5,000 meter run or strength and competitive sport or assault training! Paratroopers are not daredevils. Like other soldiers they must also train will and endurance. Military and special knowledge and ability, great political consciousness, physical performance ability, courage, strength of will, determination -- these are qualities of our NVA paratroopers, qualities that no one is born with. Just wearing the uniform and the beret is not enough. They must pass many tests before they are really paratroopers.

They know that in case of aggression against the socialist community of states the battle will take place for the paratroopers behind enemy lines. There they must operate independently as individual fighters or in small groups far from their own main troops, with cleverness and ingenuity, calmly and decisively, responsibly and with almost legendary endurance.

For this, tireless training is necessary, and the training program of the paratroopers is extensive. Firing and tactical training are part of it, sport, political training, self-defense. Close combat and combat in built-up areas, mountain climbing, training in explosives and in protection, exercises, jumping on the ground and with parachute, barracks service, diving, radio, and first aid training, strength training, ski training...



Many paratroopers go very skeptically to the winter camp for ski training, for only a very few of them have been on skis before their service time. And now they are supposed to start out on military operations on skis, march for kilometers, conquer slopes, throw hand grenades, shoot. But in the winter camp they learn how this is done. Combat on skis is also on the program. Here, for example, they learn how to use the rifle in snow. This is not at all easy with skis that are two meters long on their feet, in slippery snow, with the ski poles still in their hands. Above all the young paratroopers must learn in winter camp how to deal with the weather. That is the hardest. They must be able to survive in snow and frost, often for hours, and still to be able to ski and shoot well. And they also learn how to spend the night outside in winter.

#### The Shortest Path is not always the Best One

Much of what belongs to the training of paratroopers the NCO students Torsten Kniep and Ronald Schmieder have only known theoretically up to now. They have only been in the unit for a few weeks, in the NCO training platoon. Later, when they have their NCO stripes, they will themselves as squad leaders have young soldiers to train.

But now they have to learn the ABC's of paratroopers. Among these are the reconnaissance of enemy positions by observation. To see and hear a lot, but not to be seen and heard oneself -- that's the point. Torsten, Ronald, and the other comrades learn how one prepares observation tables and orientation sketches, how one orientates oneself, camouflages oneself, takes cover, and moves silently in every terrain. At first everything is completely theoretical. Then the mission -- reconnaissance of an enemy position -- is acted out on a terrain model. Every NCO candidate takes his turn in the role of squad leader. He sends in reconnaissance patrols, explains the combat mission, gives the necessary orders, determines the sequence and type of reporting, the signals, the password, and sets the rendezvous point.

The best paratroopers are always put in as reconnaissance troops. They must be able to orientate themselves quickly and certainly, and they are distinguished by sharp eyes and excellent hearing, considered and still rapid reactions in complicated situations.

The NCO candidates already know how to camouflage themselves with simple means: with pieces of charcoal rubbed together in their hands, they blacken their hands and face. Combat vests and weapons are decorated with grass and with twigs from trees corresponding to the season.

Among the Soviet airborne troops it is said that a paratrooper must lie lower than the grass and move more softly than the water. For this reason the paratroopers memorize such maxims as: The shortest path is not always the best! Avoid open areas and insurmountable places! Silence comes before speed! Go around villages and individual buildings! Use all shadows for camouflage!

Leave no tracks! Therefore the paratroopers train all types of movement in open fields and in the forest. This is practiced for hours, no matter whether there is shivering cold, whether it is raining, or whether the sun is burning hot. Again and again, and each time better. And they have to take care of each other, keep a constant lookout, and use every clump of grass, every hollow, and every bush as cover.

#### Yellow Means "No Enemy Present"

The will to great accomplishments, day by day, this is what distinguishes our paratroopers. Be it in tactical training, jumping, mountain climbing, or on the obstacle course. Endurance performances are demanded of all -- not only during orientation marches, in which 50 to 80 kilometers have to be covered in the shortest possible time.

Only recently NCO Ronald Schmieder had to show his readiness to take a risk for the first time when elements of house to house combat were being drilled. Ronald now knows that a good bit of courage is necessary to jump out of a high floor of a house or to rappel down. Strength and competitive sports have long been Ronald's great love. Sports that help train courage, strength, and rapid reaction time -- qualities that help him today to accomplish many burdles in paratrooper training more easily.

Soon Ronald will have to prove himself in "real" combat in built-up areas. Then the training mission will be to approach an area taken by the "enemy," to overcome or blow up fortifications and defense posts as well as blockades, to enter the buildings, and to liberate and secure them. In order to know what awaits him, Ronald asks his comrades who have had more service than he to tell about their last combat in built-up areas: The unit was divided into reconnaissance, attack, and security troops. The security group took up a position, a couple of reconnaissance men crept up unnoticed to the first houses. The group with explosives approached the blockades. At the same time all movements in the streets and houses had to be carefully watched. Then came the platoon leader's order: "Attack!" As if from a slingshot the attack group moved forward. Everything worked rapidly and as precisely as clockwork. Claws were thrown into the blockades and tore them apart, hand grenades detonated. In a zigzag the paratroopers stormed forward, crossed the alley in squad column, their weapons at the ready, moved out to a squad chain, and stormed the houses. In the meantime the reconnaissance troops had come behind the "enemy" through the sewers and attacked from there at the same time -- taking the lower windows in a jump and the upper ones in a wink by throwing claws or using attack ladders -- from one area to the next. With hand grenades and short fire bursts from the machine pistol the soldiers fought forward from below to above, covering each other and avoiding dead angles. When the "enemy" had been defeated, a yellow flag was raised as a sign that there were "no enemy present." Then it went on. The next house was attacked.

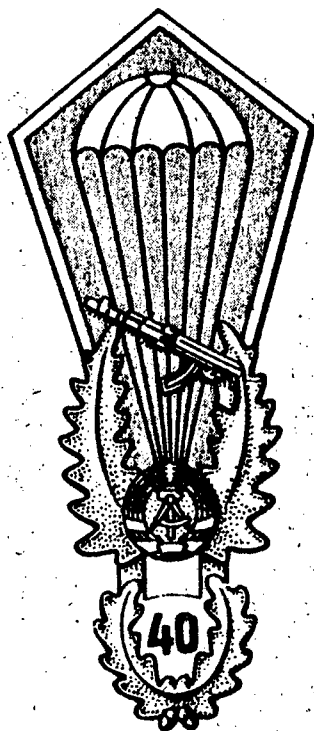
It is not a Dream

It is the dream of many youths to become paratroopers. But being a paratrooper is no dream. It is a hard everyday soldier's life full of difficulties and sacrifices. Jens Koinzer, Fred Duhmke, Torsten Kniep, Romald Schmieder, and with them all the paratroopers of our NVA are hard men who master the great demands in their training with initiative and readiness to perform. They understand the sense of their mission. They know that it is better to spend weeks and months or even years of hard service full of sacrifices and with separation from their families rather than have one single hour of war!

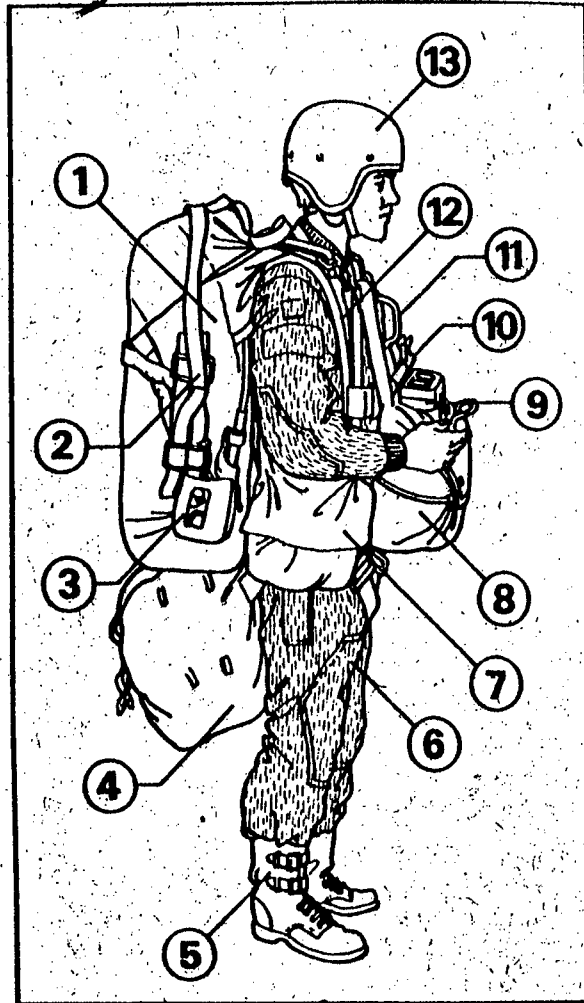
#### The Paratrooper Parachute RS-9

##### Technical Data:

Canopy area	66 m <sup>2</sup>
Number of grab ropes	28
Weight of the packed parachute with automatic opening	16 kg
Falling speed with 130 kg	5 m/s
360 degree turn	8 s



Paratroop Insignia of the NVA with Appendage  
(Here for 40 Jumps)



Equipment of a Paratrooper

Key:

1. Main Parachute
2. Ripcord for Opening
3. Automatic Opener
4. Cargo Container
5. Jump Boots
6. Combat Suit
7. Magazine container
8. Emergency Parachute
9. Equipment case with Stopwatch and Altimeter
10. Machine Pistol
11. Ripcord handle for manual opening (During a jump with stabilizing equipment the main chute is opened with this handle)
12. Straps
13. Jump Helmet

9124

CSO: 2300/652

REGIME POLICY OF OPEN DIALOGUE, TOLERANCE PRAISED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Laszlo Rozsa: "Dialogue and Tolerance"]

[Text] It was no doubt a surprise to many to see the TV program of last Saturday linking the life of various religious denominations, interviewing their leaders and members, and depicting parts of their rites and sermons. The film was made under the mark of the cooperation characterizing the current relationship between the Hungarian state and the traditional and free churches. Of course, the surprise is not with the generally known fact that during an especially difficult global period when so many economic, political, national and racial controversies and intolerances are ravaging the relationship between countries and conditions within the state boundaries on this earth, in our case, an unequivocally good, well balanced relationship exists between the socialist state and the Hungarian churches. The surprise--if there was one, and I am convinced that there was--was caused by being able to discuss it on television, the most widespread communication medium of our age, without any false overstatements, occasional flatteries or sly, diplomatic niceties.

Also in the Troubled World

All of these show not only that the constitutional settlement of this relationship is firm--concerning freedom of conscience, not only the sphere of action, function and duties of one party or the other have gotten clear limits in the form of political, legal and social agreements. It confirms that tolerance in the right sense of the word can and must be developed where the various spiritual thoughts--without yielding ideological concessions to each other--are searching for and finding the common spheres of active coexistence and, moreover, cooperation for the benefit of the entire nation. This is a valuable confirmation of the vitality of the policy of socialist national unity. But I repeat, its significance is further enhanced by any kind of glance at the troubles of the world where political Machiavellism, hatred, prejudices, stupidity and bigotry are demanding human sacrifices every day. In this atmosphere are pitted against each other Irish Catholics and Protestants in England, Hindus and Sikhs in India, Druse Mohammedans and Maronite Christians in Lebanon, or Shiites and Sunnites on the battlefields between Iraq and Iran. This is what feeds the hate against blacks in South Africa which, through its recently "reformed" constitution, again legalized the oppression of

the colored people. This is what keeps alive the Ku Klux Klan bands in the United States, this can be used to condition the blinded extremists whose terroristic attacks are indiscriminately afflicting innocents, this furnace is heating the mutual Basque-Spanish murders on French soil, this infectious material continues to put its renewed virulence into the tribal wars of Africa and into the mutual eliminations in Uganda and Nigeria. Not to mention, of course, the known fact that, as the principal tool of the cold war, the campaign of slander against communism and socialism, elevated to state policy rank in several Western countries and supported by enormous financial means is playing the most dangerous role in swelling the processes of hate.

In this global environment, in this international atmosphere, we have to greatly value what the Marxists and religious people in Hungary, in their mutual state and church relationship, have achieved not by renouncing principles and ideologies and not at the cost of coercing or forcing others but exactly the opposite. The materialistic historical and social outlook of the Marxists outright demands that, in working for the good of the people and organizing a socialist society, they retain freedom of conscience as the foundation, where man is not separated from man through religious belief or atheism, but he is classified according to his relationship to society and its goals. It was interesting to hear it stated by Lutheran, Reformed and Catholic bishops that they do not see such contrasts between the socioeconomic and humanitarian goals of Marxism, and the teachings of the gospel which would contraindicate such cooperation on their part. And naturally, they have also stated--what can also be definitely confirmed by the Marxists on their part--that the road leading to here was not at all smooth in the midst of the political storms of the past decades. After decades of these storms and reversals of fortune, with their unavoidable confrontations, but also not free of errors and narrow-mindedness, for instance, today's Catholic Church in Hungary is not the same as it was at a much earlier age, supporting its feudal capitalism and being suffused with anticommunism. Neither is the party of the communists in the same situation as when--for many reasons which cannot be discussed in detail here--intolerance had often gained the upper hand in its day-to-day actions. In addition to the relationship between the Hungarian state and the churches, a principled behavior is required also in other social relationships, of course.

#### History Did Not Permit It for a Long Time

When speaking of tolerance, patience and respect toward those with other beliefs, it does not mean at all that we are repudiating our own selves and are giving up our principles, or that we are compromising in a way that we are diverted from our natural tracks. The point is that without the necessary tolerance, there cannot be dialogue, there cannot be democratic debate, there can be neither understanding nor rapprochement, there can be no fight against prejudices.

Regretfully, neither was the more recent and remote past of our history and politics always an instruction in tolerance; let us recall, for instance, the increasingly more openly fascistic society of the Bethlen, Gombos, Imredy and Daranyi eras where tyranny, national and racial hatred, a reckless persecution

of the progressive, leftist, communistic way of thinking, the rousing of chauvinistic passions, the generally dominant brutality led to the fascist era with its fully developed white-hot passions. Neither was the time of serious party and class struggles, after the liberation, an era of calm, democratic dialogue--it could hardly be that--because then "the world had to be turned around" in the strict sense of the word. Even less so was the era of distortions leading to tragedy, the time of the early 1950's so often cited today (and often presented out of context).

After all of these it is understandable that switching over from political monologue to dialogue was not an easy task. We can see it even now that the principle of patience and tolerance is often upside down: we are tolerating economic or public morality phenomena where indulgence should not be shown or permitted, and we flare up at things which are new and unaccustomed, but are simply the adaptable products of the changing world, changing customs, tastes, fashions and living conditions. The middle-generation of today still remembers well the wars waged against long hair, blue jeans and similar fashions which would have been stopped by the conservative tastes of the public if fashions could (or should) be stopped. We still remember well those very "ideological" debates which evaluated literary and fine art creations from the standpoint of a certain taste and sounded the alarm if they were not in keeping with the traditional.

#### The Unity of Tolerance and Rejection

Now, however, it is the experience with many problems that the categories of "what should be tolerated" and "what should not be tolerated" are becoming indistinct mainly as a result of the ideological blurring which can be sensed in many areas especially because, instead of debate, criticism and elucidation, the field is passed over to the bourgeois world view and value system. If it is a matter of dialogue, then naturally a partner is needed, and the trouble is not that others, the non-Marxists, can also freely express their views and philosophies directly or through artistic creations. But if we had condemned the political and ideological monologue when it was carried on by the Marxists, then it is also impossible to accept it with an opposite directional signal. And yet, in this sense, our intellectual life would be threatened by a distortion if it were undertaken by some kind of attitude inducing compunction, self-flagellation, the questioning of everything and an overturning of the necessary and objective limits of self-analysis. We have committed ourselves to the freedom of creativeness and ideas. The author writes about what he indeed thinks and feels, what he has to say. On the other hand, it is the task of the creative workshops and of criticism to expose and reject debates, analyses and opportunistic phenomena. How else could tolerance be interpreted, indeed?

The author of these lines had a chance to observe directly and closely the movements of French intellectual and political life, over a 5-year period, and he can bear witness that the liberal-capitalist French society, which is so proud of its individual liberties and intellectual freedom, had built a setup of critical posts to intellectually counterbalance and isolate the Marxist left. Everything can be published, in principle, but the influence on public

opinion, the excess weight of the large communications media is guaranteed to be in the hands of the anti-Marxist political forces; and frequently they almost "thunder down" on creations displeasing them, or they simply give them the silent treatment.

We have no reason to be ashamed because socialist society is protecting the system of its own political and ideological views according to its order of values and interests, especially not when our principles make it clear that, on the ideological level, ideological responses must be given, on the political level, political ones. Moreover, as in every country living within lawful constraints, breaking the law must be responded to according to the law.

#### In Front of the Public

Our current debates are varied, they are at several levels and their characteristic is that, in general, they are not carried out from antagonistic political positions. As a result, in most of the cases, they do not require the wound-inflicting sharpness which is concomitant with the intensification of party struggles and political class struggles. The price is not to destroy, denounce and humiliate the opponent. Our goal is to give a chance to everyone who accepts the basic principles and constitutional order of our society and who considers the vital interests of the country--to defend his point of view and also to respond if it becomes necessary. Reading about our debates involving public issues, the public can regularly become convinced that this is not merely a wish.

But the democratic rules of play apply to everyone and, therefore, neither can the method of the anticriticism climate be accepted whereby it sees or wants us to see "an authoritarian note" in every stand which happens to be in agreement with the views of the leading authorities or to originate from them. The open public life, which we want to develop, demands new efforts from everyone; and what we see on radio and TV debates and platforms, in front of a jury of thousands and often a million indicates that an increasing number of public leaders are moving confidently on this terrain. This also is a sign of how seriously we take democracy and how sincerely we want our ideas and views to be spread through persuasion rather than through administrative means and declarations. We are convinced that, without it, there can be no consensus with the "public" and joint action is impossible.

Hungarian public life could gain much and could be greatly purified if a democratic concept of debate would become general and this would also be reflected in the tone and manner of the conduct of the debates. We have quite enough important public matters awaiting solution which should be debated without disturbance, misunderstanding and misinterpretations. However, an indispensable condition of it is that the Marxists, the adherents of socialism, must everywhere, steadily and without fail, convincingly and patiently stand up for their rights presenting an example of tolerance and consistency of principle.



FIRST BOOK SINCE 1945 PLANNED ON LEGAL RIGHTS OF ALIENS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 Aug 84 p 5

[Interview with Pal Elias of the International Legal Relations Department of the Ministry of Justice by L. J.: "Legal Suits About Support Payments; Who Is an Alien?"; Date and place not specified]

[Text] Can a foreigner in Hungary be a Hungarian citizen? The correct answer to the question which at first appears to be nonsense is that a foreigner may. The currency law, for example, regards as a foreigner those who have left their country, regardless of the fact that they have kept their Hungarian citizenship. The statutory provision regarding the stay of foreigners in Hungary has a similar provision: the rules must also be applied to those Hungarian citizens living abroad who have arrived in Hungary with a foreign passport. Thus anyone who believed that it would be easy to answer the question of who is a foreigner would be making a premature judgment. For a lawyer the only answer could be: it depends. But it is not only the public that would find it difficult to find its way in the rules regarding foreigners, for professional jurists also have problems in judging cases involving international elements. We are speaking here of an area that is little known, but because of our expanding international relations the interest in it keeps growing. Among other things, this is indicated by the fact that, as charged by the Council of Ministers, advance research work is being conducted at the Political and Legal Science Institute of the Academy of Sciences in the framework of a comprehensive scientific study on the development of administration regarding the legal rights of foreigners in Hungary. On the basis of this research a book may also be expected to appear on this subject. Such a book will be the first in Hungary since the liberation.

## Two Wives

[Question] The International Legal Relations Department of the Ministry of Justice gives information and views on international questions; on the basis of a legal decree on international civil rights it informs the authorities on foreign rights, settles matter related to the marriage of Hungarian citizens in Hungary with a foreign citizen, and takes action in support payment cases of those liable abroad. On odd numbered days the department workers also provide information to citizens who turn to them with matters that have international

aspects. It talked with Dr Pal Elias of the Department of Justice about those international statutory provisions with which Hungarian citizens may most frequently have something to do.

[Answer] Among the principles related to the legal situations of foreigners living in the territory of another state, the one most followed is the principle of territorial equality before the law. Hungarian law also follows this principle, that is, it generally guarantees to foreigners arriving here equal rights with those of Hungarian citizens. Complete identity between the two, of course, cannot be considered, but the basic principle is that the rules that are standard for Hungarian citizens also apply to foreigners, their legal and disposal rights, and their personal and property rights and obligations unless a statutory provision provides otherwise.

[Question] Many are affected by and interested in those rules which apply to marriages with and divorces from foreigners.

[Answer] A Hungarian citizen may marry a foreigner either abroad or in Hungary. Thus it is not a condition for marriage that it should be performed here. If it is desired to perform the marriage abroad, it must be verified that there are no legal impediments to the marriage. This refers to the so-called marriage certificate, which since 1979 is granted not by the Ministry of Justice but by the administrative department of county councils, city councils with county rank, or the Budapest city council. Formerly, Hungarian representatives abroad could give such a certificate even to tourists abroad. The above-mentioned provision of international civil law changed this in that now foreign representation can proceed only if the applicant has a permanent residence abroad.

[Question] What about those Hungarian citizens who work permanently in a foreign country?

[Answer] We have taken the position that anyone who has worked abroad for a few years may be classified--in this respect--as a resident abroad. For example, the consular section of our embassy in the GDR could grant such certification. If the marriage is performed in Hungary, the foreigner must, of course, provide a certificate that there are no impediments to the marriage according to the applicable foreign law. In states with a continental legal system (for example, the FRG and Austria) it is rather complicated to obtain such a certificate, but in developing countries registration weaknesses make it difficult to obtain such documents and therefore out of fairness the Ministry of Justice may grant an exemption to the requirement.

[Question] Your offices examine the conditions of the marriage, but still a surprise may await a marriage partner on going abroad.

[Answer] Unpleasant turns of events do in fact take place. In one case it was learned after the marriage that the husband's divorce decree was not yet final according to the laws of the country. And when the young couple arrived in the distant country, the former wife, or the wife--I do not know how to put it--charged her husband with bigamy.

[Question] What is the situation regarding foreign divorces?

[Answer] Here, too, it is well to be informed beforehand. Hungarian law recognizes the divorce judgment of a foreign court if the marriage partner with Hungarian citizenship also resided abroad at the time the divorce action was begun. But if, for example, their relationships had gone bad, the partner with the Hungarian citizenship returned home, and the marriage was dissolved thereafter in the foreign country, the judgment is valid in Hungary only if there is a legal assistance agreement between the two countries and the provisions of that agreement call for it.

#### Contest Over a Child

[Question] The situation is more complicated if there is a child. How can a woman or man who rears a child in Hungary obtain support allowance payments from the parent living abroad?

[Answer] Two multilateral conventions regulate such a problem. The signatory countries to the Hague Child Support Convention recognize in child support cases the decision of the other country and undertake its execution. In such a case the Hungarian citizen must bring action before a Hungarian court for a settlement of the child support allowance, and also the carrying out of the final judgment must be requested from the acting Hungarian court or in Budapest from the Pest Central District Court. The signatories to the 1936 New York Convention do not recognize the decision automatically but undertake to take all necessary steps to assure that the person entitled to the support allowance may obtain the sum he or she is entitled to: they call on the debtor to make payments, they hold a hearing or take action. It is also possible to use the two agreements simultaneously. This is true, for example, in the case of the FRG. In that country the Federal Administrative Office handles the collection of support allowance payments, and it must be said that they proceed correctly in representing the creditors of other countries. Thus there is hope for satisfying such demands, even if attended by many formalities which at times may be prolonged. The situation is still more difficult in child custody disputes. The authorities of no state are happy when a child is taken from one of its citizens in carrying out the decision of a foreign court. It has happened that a child with the permission of his mother visited his father living abroad, but the father did not want to permit the child to return. My advice would be that careful consideration should be given to whether a parent should agree to such a visit.

[Question] What states are not members of the above-mentioned conventions on child support allowances?

[Answer] Most of the Arab and African states have not signed these conventions, [agreements], and we have legal assistance agreements with only a few of these states. Not long ago a mother came to us whose husband had obtained a degree in Budapest, they had one child, the father returned to Kenya saying he would make preparations to have his family resettled. Eight years have passed and he has not been heard from. Even his address is not known. There is one possible solution: A suit can be brought in Kenya, but to do this

it is necessary to have a license from the foreign exchange office, which will be granted if there is a point to such a suit. In our case, however, there is very little hope that the support payments can be collected from the father. In another case a problem was caused by the fact that a foreign court, acting by its system and methods, assessed a Hungarian father support payment without taking into account that he was a free lancer who earned exceptionally good money, and thus the support payment assessed in a percentage ratio was several times greater than average earnings in that foreign country.

[Question] Among the more pleasant surprises are those cases where someone who regards himself a foreigner is informed by the Hungarian authorities that they consider him to be a Hungarian citizen.

[Answer] Frequently persons with dual citizenship ask to be exempted from showing a marriage certificate and we inform them that the Hungarian authorities regard them exclusively Hungarian citizens, and the rules that apply to Hungarians apply to them also.

[Question] Are there many persons interested in knowing how a foreign citizen can acquire real property?

[Answer] A foreigner--as well as stateless persons and Hungarian citizens who live permanently abroad--may purchase real property only with a foreign exchange license. This also applies to the sale and rental of real property. A foreigner must pay into a blocked forint account, and therefore he cannot take the money out of the country.

[Question] Finally, it would be worthwhile to say something about protecting the rights and interests of Hungarians traveling abroad.

[Answer] This is true all the more so because an increasing number of Hungarian citizens are traveling abroad and frequently to distant countries. One of the basic elements in the legal matter of citizenship is that the citizen may request protection whatever happens to him abroad. We try to protect the rights of our citizens by signing legal assistance agreements, but the most important form of foreign legal and interest protection is that extended by our foreign representation. Many socialist states include in their constitution the right of the citizen to diplomatic protection. This is not fixed in our constitution, but every Hungarian citizen can request protection from the consul. This extends to cases of death, arrest or any limitation on personal freedom from protection of property rights to accidents. Often Hungarian citizens traveling abroad do not avail themselves of this, perhaps because they do not know they have the right.

6691

CSO: 2500/580

GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL ABUSES

AU201056 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Sep 84 p 3

[Interview given by Brigadier General Marian Ryba, general director in the Council of Ministers Office, to Roman Chocyk: "It Is Necessary to Strengthen Civic Sensitivity to Evil"--date and place not given; first paragraph is TRYBUNA LUDU introduction]

[Excerpts] Brigadier General Marian Ryba granted us an interview about the system of control in the state and about the concept of worker-peasant inspections, which was presented at the 16th Central Committee Plenum.

[Chocyk] The problems connected with efforts to overcome our crisis and its associated phenomena such as bad management, waste, profiteering, and thefts of public property have made it necessary to wage a more effective struggle against these abuses. Control bodies have an important role to play in this struggle, provided they increase the effectiveness of their performance. However, many people say that we have a large number of various control bodies, which makes for duplication of activities and bad coordination and which gives one the impression that there is too much control and that it is of poor quality.

[Ryba] Let me speak about control in general before I answer your question in detail.

Many changes have taken place in our economic life and state administration in the past few years. Some of the previous control bodies have become defunct and have not been replaced by new bodies. The control system has demonstrated many weaknesses and shortcomings in the face of increased social evils. Control checks have often been superficial, badly organized, and unable to localize the sources of evil.

That is why, on Premier W. Jaruzelski's instructions, the control system has been thoroughly and critically analyzed by scientists and practitioners.

As a result, on 23 May 1983 the Council of Ministers passed a resolution which sorts out the principles of the control performed by state administrative bodies. The Council of Ministers also took a number of measures of which we are all aware. The system of state control was temporarily strengthened by

armed forces inspections and military local operational groups, the activity of which rapidly produced tangible results, because it was possible to discover shortcomings, to effectively remove them, and to prosecute the guilty.

As of 1981, the Central Commission for Struggle Against Profiteering and its local commissions have waged extensive control, prosecutions, and preventive activities. They cooperate with social aktivs, mainly worker aktivs, numbering over 20,000 persons. The Council of Ministers Committee for Observing Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline continues its intensive activities by initiating and supporting control checks in the sectors that are most endangered.

In the past 30 months the State Price Control Body has uncovered price irregularities to the tune of Z14 billion. In the first half of this year, the Main Inspectorate for Fiscal Control uncovered economic abuses, tax evasions, and other offenses to the tune of over Z1 billion. The State Trade Inspectorate carried out 13,000 control checks within the same period and, as a result, reported 521 crimes to judicial bodies and 4,640 offenses to administrative bodies.

The activities of other official specialized control bodies are also very lively. For example, the State Inspection of Procurement and Processing of Farm Produce, which carried out 4,058 control checks in the first 6 months of this year, uncovered abuses and losses to the tune of Z52 million. The area in which these bodies perform their control is huge and exact statistics are impossible. Their control checks help increase prevention of irregularities in the entire area of state administration and economic management.

We should also bear in mind that the recommendations and advice advanced by these bodies during their control checks or at their conclusion are very useful. If we sum up the results of the performance of all official bodies of control we see that without their intensive efforts the condition of the struggle against evils would be much worse.

[Chocyk] Is the present control system "tight" enough to effectively counter social evils?

[Ryba] In line with the law, control checks carried out by official bodies cover all areas of socioeconomic life that should be subjected to such checks. However, we have to admit that these checks still contain many weaknesses. The main weakness is failure to fully implement the postcontrol recommendations. This must be changed. The necessary measures have already been taken.

At present, internal control checks in economic and administrative units are the poorest of all. Although the aforementioned decree issued by the Council of Ministers in 1983 instructs the management of those units to organize control checks, no appreciable progress has been noted as yet in this regard.

[Chocyk] Why is this so? Are bad regulations, aversion, a lack of the necessary social education, or economic conditions responsible for this state of affairs?

[Ryba] There are many reasons for this. Not infrequently, managers consciously go for bad quality production and services. Some managers prefer not to know that there is waste, bad husbandry, and other weaknesses in their plants. They think that perhaps the control net will miss them and these weaknesses will not be uncovered.

We have enough evidence to show that some managers not only avoid improving the internal control checks in their plants, but even refuse to set up control bodies.

Another feature is that colleagues are reluctant to subject their own colleagues and persons from their own milieu to control. This is one reason why control checks carried out by workers self-management bodies are duds, although they have gained extensive control powers as a result of the law dated 25 September 1981.

[Chocyk] The concept of worker-peasant inspections, which was presented at the 16th Central Committee Plenum, has been subjected to extensive discussions, and people have thought that it denotes a tendency to resort to extraordinary measures in combatting evil. Are these people right?

[Ryba] Yes, in part. One resorts to extraordinary measures in extraordinary situations, and our present situation is extraordinary in some ways. This situation has come about as a result of many factors. Its distinctive feature is various intensified manifestations of evil and our citizens' reduced sensitivity to these manifestations. Our citizens are not militant enough to react to them. However, without an extensive support on the part of society and the working people, it is impossible to effectively combat manifestations of evil. The realization of this truth has inspired the party, the state leadership, and public opinion with the idea of setting up worker-peasant inspections.

[Chocyk] Will the setting up of worker-peasant inspections necessitate changes in the state system of control? What will be their organization?

[Ryba] Replacing the present official institutions of control by worker-peasant inspections would be a misunderstanding. These inspections will be a form of social control checks to supplement and support official bodies of control, which, in turn, will support the inspections.

At present a number of alternatives are being considered with regard to the organization of the inspections. In light of the need to give the inspections a high status, I see two possibilities: To attach the inspections either to the people's councils or to the Supreme Chamber of Control. The bad experience of the past and the fact that the Social Control Committees attached in the past to the people's councils eventually broke down, speak in favor of attaching the inspections to the Supreme Chamber of Control.

CC SECRETARY DISCUSSES PARTY TRAINING TASKS

AU201344 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski: "On the Threshold of a New Year of Party Training--The Statute and Needs of Life Dictate Our Duty"]

[Excerpts] Developing social awareness to match the efforts to solve our country's present complicated problems is an inalienable task of our party, which is the leading force of our society. The party's strength and place in our community and its ability to transform the citizens' awareness are determined by its wise and socially acceptable program, which takes into account the needs of the country's development, and by the attitudes and activities of each PZPR member.

A sense of responsibility for the country, the statutory imperative of militancy, and party discipline impose on every party member without exception the duty of committing all his strength, skills, knowledge, and experience to implementing party policies.

When we evaluate the road we have traversed since the ninth party congress, we are bound to notice that the ideological cohesiveness of our party ranks has increased, but that this does not mean that our knowledge of Marxism-Leninism is now satisfactory. That is why party training is so important. By relating theory to practice, it should help us to better understand party policies under conditions of the present times, to develop the skill to apply in practice the knowledge we gain, and to better realize our duties as individual party members.

Ideological training in the party is now especially important and desirable for everyone who not only wants to feel like a communist, but also wants to be one, in the fullest meaning of the word.

This is determined by the extent of the tasks facing the party in its struggle for our country's future destiny, for the Poles' patriotic and socialist attitudes, and for stimulating their constructive militancy, which we need in order to solve the complicated problems of present times. It is determined by the intensity of the ideological and political struggle, because the adversaries of socialism are trying to introduce upheaval into people's views, upset



attitudes, set people at loggerheads, and weaken social commitment. They are doing this by every possible means, including attacks against the theoretical, philosophic, and moral principles followed by the party.

The uneasy realities of present times have compelled party members to assume, in everyday situations, the role of the champions and defenders of the ideas and aspirations of the entire party. They will not be equal to their tasks if they do not possess the necessary knowledge, which should be more extensive than that concerning daily matters, although this latter is also necessary.

Party training helps one to assimilate and intensify one's knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thoughts and the ideological, programmatic, and statutory principles of the party. It teaches one to independently evaluate the phenomena of sociopolitical life, develops ideological attitudes, and fosters skills of political struggle.

The resolutions of the 13th Central Committee Plenum and the National Conference of PZPR delegates oblige the entire party to launch militant ideological activities, the main purpose of which should be:

- Implementing the above resolutions, which define close ties between ideology, on the one hand, and politics and economics, on the other;

- Strengthening the policy of national agreement as the basis for promoting party influence in society:

- Mobilizing society for the struggle against the threats to peace and against the anticommunist crusade directed at Poland, the socialist community, and all progressive forces in the world.

Party training for that purpose should be a cause of the entire party--of all its organizations and cells. This is all the more important, since some party organizations and cells continue to fail to understand and appreciate the role and function of party training. This results in differences in the standards of party training, its low effectiveness in many cases, and even the absence of this training in some party organizations.

Ideological-political training in primary party organizations should be the main task of party training in this new school year. The point is that precisely primary party organizations are areas of ideological, principled, and candid discussions about the main problems of party ideology and policy.

Because party admission has continued to increase, it is very important for basic party cells and for the Regional Centers of Party Work to organize party training for party candidates, which should include the PZPR's ideological and programmatic principles, the party statute, the Leninist norms of party life, and the rudiments of the history of the workers movement.

Because it is necessary to strengthen the party's ideological influence on the workers class, the party committees in large enterprises have been instructed to organize schools of party activists. Party committees and primary party organizations in enterprises should send to these schools the workers who enjoy authority in their own communities--party, trade union, and self-management activists, foremen, brigade leaders, and young workers recommended by youth organizations.

The cadre of instructors is of decisive importance for party training, because in the final reckoning it determines the effectiveness and success of this training. Party cells have the duty to correctly train and deploy instructors and lecturers, and primary party organizations have the duty to draw up schedules of ideological meetings throughout the school year and provide conditions for the full implementation of these schedules.

All PZPR members, without exception, must keenly study training materials and assume militant attitudes during the ideological discussions at ideological meetings organized by primary party organizations.

One of the duties of the party and all its organizations and cells is the propagation of ideology within party ranks and among all our people. However, we should realize that ideology, which is a system of goals, values, norms, and views relating to social life, should not function only in the sphere of theory and scientific and popularization activities. The party's ideological work must relate to practice and to economic, political, and social conditions. The goal of party training is to develop attitudes, which can be tested only in practice.

There are over 2 million PZPR members. Let each one of us, by his attitude, prove his loyalty to ideological principles and his solicitude for the party. Let each one of us not only lead in discharging his duties, but also fight for the just cause, resolutely oppose enemy propaganda, and combat indifference, bureaucracy, waste, and stupidity. Let every party organization and cell consistently evaluate the attitudes of its members and the results of their activities.

In this way the party, which consistently verifies the compatibility between its words and deeds, will intensify its ties with the masses, correctly run the processes of democratic changes, and fulfill its leading function in society.

CSO: 2600/1284

POLAND

TRYBUNA LUDU INTERVIEWS GEN JASINSKI ON CUBA VISIT

LD171454 Warsaw PAP in English 1414 GMT 17 Sep 84

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep--The PUWP daily TRYBUNA LUDU carries an interview with vice minister of national defence, General Antoni Jasinski who has recently paid a visit to Cuba, also in his capacity of chairman of the Polish-Cuban Society, which resulted in signing an agreement on cooperation with the respective body in that country.

Speaking about long-standing ties between Poland and Cuba, General Jasinski recalled that Carlos Rolof-Mialowski, a Pole from Warsaw, had been promoted as high as general in Cuban (?upsurgent) troops fighting for the country's liberation from colonial fetters.

Referring to the agreement on cooperation, the paper said that it provided for "cooperation in numerous planes, helping disseminate knowledge about both our countries, and stimulate and strengthen contacts between institutions, organizations and citizens."

General Jasinski also pointed to the constant progress in all fields of Cuban life: "It can be noticed in industries, agriculture, housing, not to mention the impressive attainments in education and health service. As for culture, Cuba is a centre influencing Latin America as a whole, and it also seeks prominence in various fields of science, for example in medicine."

CSO: 2020/111

PRC CULTURAL EXCHANGE REVIEWED

LD171538 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 17 Sep 84

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep--In a comment on a programme for cultural and scientific exchange between the governments of the Polish People's Republic and the People's Republic of China for the years 1985-86, signed here 15 September, the daily RZECZPOSPOLITA pointed to the fact that this is the first official agreement concerning Polish-Chinese cultural cooperation signed in the last 18 years.

The daily went on: "The programme opens a new stage in cultural cooperation. It should be stressed that the programme is rich and matter-of-fact.

"Very soon, from 9 to 24 November, Polish folk song and dance ensemble 'Mazowsze' will give concerts in, among others, Beijing and Tientsin. Also for November, a display of Chinese artistic paper cut-outs is scheduled to open at the Warsaw gallery of sculpture.

"Later on, the famous Shanghai opera silhouette theatre and, most probably, a Chinese circus will perform in this country. From Poland, a large children's or youth's artistic group and a circus will depart to China. Chinese pianists will participate in the 11th Chopin competition in Warsaw next year, and Polish photographers--in the 3d international photographic exhibition in Beijing," wrote the paper.

RZECZPOSPOLITA continued: "Both sides also agreed on broadening scientific cooperation that covers, among others, medicine, chemistry and technology of polymers. Exchange of scientific researchers, publications and manuals will enter a new, higher level. Contacts between universities are to be renewed and deepened. Both sides will also support cooperation in press, radio and television, and exchange of information between the press agencies of PAP and XINHUA."

CSO: 2020/112

YOUTH DAILY CRITICIZES GERMAN LANGUAGE MASSES

LD201535 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 20 Sep 84

['Pilgrims' From West Germany"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Sep--The youth daily SZTANDAR MLODYCH today reprinted an article published by TRYBUNA WALBRZYSKA criticising the attitude of some priests in local parishes on Poland's western territories who perform special services for West Germans visiting these lands.

The paper quoted the example of Father Tadeusz Drozd from a 2,500-strong parish in Lewin Klodzki, south-west Poland, in whose church a solemn mass attended by West German citizens was said last 22 July (on Poland's national day), and who accepts material support from West German citizens.

Another quoted example is that of St Martin's church in the village of Szklarnia where Father Franz Jung, who led a group of German tourists in Poland, said a mass in German last 6 August.

The daily also referred to a number of leaflets circulated in local parishes in that region, which offer masses for the deceased Germans born there, some of them containing maps with the Third Reich's 1938-borders, some of them appealing to "Germans at home" meaning those who live in Poland but feel being Germans.

"The stand taken by some priests in our church seems to be different from that of the church's highest authorities with Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp who condemned West German revisionism from the Jasna Gora shrine," the paper noted.

"It is also different from that of those people who live just there, who have found their home just there and do not want anybody to disturb its peace. Even in the name of Christian humbleness," it added.

In a postscript the author of the article pointed to the fact that according to the minister for religious affair's records, no permission has been ever given to say a mass in German in Bard Slaski for citizens of German origin living in Poland.

DAILY HAILS GOMULKA ON DEATH ANNIVERSARY

AU041143 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1-2 Sep 84 p 2

[Article signed 'J.R.': "An Activist of the Highest Caliber"]

[Text] Three important stages in Wladyslaw Gomulka's political activity have left such a permanent and indelible mark on the struggle of the party and people and on the history of the nation that future generations will say of him: This was an activist of the highest caliber.

The first stage occurred during the Nazi occupation, when the Polish Workers Party [PPR] emerged and commenced a struggle hidden in the depths of conspiracy. At that time a 37-year-old activist with plenty of experience gained from the class struggles of the Polish Communist Party [KPP] against the bourgeoisie, Wladyslaw Gomulka, came to Warsaw in July 1942 and became secretary of the Warsaw PPR Committee, after which he became PPR Central Committee member, then director of the party's technical headquarters, then a member of the party's triumvirate and, in November 1943, PPR Central Committee secretary, in other words, its leader.

During this time Wladyslaw Gomulka made an enormous contribution toward shaping a creative programmatic line for the party, paving the way for struggle for national and social liberation, firmly consolidating the forces of the left, and setting up a conspiratorial embryo of future people's authority--the People's Council in Poland. In particular, he was the key author of two PPR ideological declarations entitled "What Are We Fighting For?" of which the second, published in November 1943, established a clear outline for People's Poland, for which the patriotic left wing was struggling.

Then came the second stage. As PPR Central Committee general secretary from the liberation right up to 1948, Wladyslaw Gomulka led the struggle and activity of the first party in the history of the Polish workers movement, a party whose lot it was to transform the idea of socialism into real socialism on our soil. During the pioneering era of people's authority, Wladyslaw Gomulka performed great services by accurately defining party policy, solving fundamental tasks connected with rebuilding the country from the war damage and peopling and husbanding the territories on the Odra and Nysa Rivers and on the Baltic; conducting great sociopolitical reforms; participating in the victory over Nazism; and establishing Poland's place in Europe.

Falsely accused of "rightwing-nationalistic deviation," Wladyslaw Gomulka was removed from the party leadership and subjected to persecution. During a climate of creative revival he returned to the post of PZPR leader in October 1956 and held the post of Central Committee first secretary for the next 14 years. During this third stage, he played an eminent role in consolidating the party's Leninist character and managing socialist construction in our country. He was a champion of the cause of peace and European security and the political inspirer of the 1970 treaty with the FRG, which confirmed the inviolability of our borders.

Wladyslaw Gomulka showed himself to be a patriot and internationalist. He was one of the chief creators of the fraternal alliance with the USSR, and regarded Poland's membership in the socialist community as a basis for our independence. He was straightforward, modest, fervent, resolute, and extremely hard-working. He was worthy of the supreme title: communist.

CSO: 2600/1287

# ROLE OF RELIGION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian Apr 84 pp 128-129

[Review by Nicolae Copoiu of book "Gindirea revolutionara din Romania despre religie" [Revolutionary Thought in Romania About Religion] by Augustin Deac, Ion Iacos, Teodor Popescu and Natalia Tampa, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1983, 334 pages]

[Text] The materials contained in this volume - prepared for publication by Augustin Deac, Ion Iacos, Teodor Popescu and Natalie Tampa - (studies, article, portions of books, extracts from program documents and so forth) represent an important facet of the activities of the socialist and workers movement and the party of the working class. It is part of the propaganda of the ideas of scientific socialism in Romania.

One of the sources of religious beliefs and mysticism has been and continues to be the impossibility for man to understand natural phenomena and, especially, those of life, that is, precisely those things that require a very high level of development of knowledge on the basis of scientific discoveries. As is known, human society has traveled over an uninterrupted process of development in all areas, including the understanding of nature and life, without, however, today reaching the point of understanding all the phenomena of nature and life.

But, this continuing process is in itself an argument in support of scientific knowledge and against religious and mystical beliefs. This faith in the unending progress of knowledge was expressed by the philosopher Vasile Conta, even during the period - and this was not, certainly, by chance - when he worked as a socialist militant in the sections of the First Internationale in Paris: "We will reach the day," he wrote in 1870, "when we will have natural explanations through the actions of the laws of nature for all the manifestations of the soul." Although expressed in a general form, the problem of the material nature of the spirit was found with the same clarity and faith in knowledge in Romanian socialist philosophy: "The soul, therefore," he stated, "is nothing more than the property of the brain: in other words, it is nothing more than a new form of power corresponding to a new form of matter. And, just as the role of the powers of the soul is very subtle and complicated, so does the matter that basically serves it have a structure and organization of the greatest delicacy and perfection... Anatomy and physiology determine in part - and in the distant future they will determine more precisely - what is the subdivision of the body corresponding to a certain subdivision of the powers of the soul" (pp 21-22).



Religion's place and its consequences upon social relationships cannot be ignored in history. "No matter how small a part it has had in our existence," noted V. Conta, "religion, morals and law can never disappear from society," although they support a continuing transformation "according to the requirements of the time, that is, according to the status of the people's culture" (p 25).

Religion in the modern world has been subjected to criticism from two basic points of view: one refers to the concept, to the act of awareness and all its connections which are concentrated in man's religious convictions; the other refers to the institution which exploits religious convictions, to the church and its servants. It is in itself understood that for a political party, involved in a struggle with other parties, the weapons for attack against the adversaries are not selected. Thus, weapons were used both as general, ideological discussions based on scientific data that were designed to contribute to raising the level of the workers' knowledge, as well as weapons for unmasking the anti-moral practices precisely within the church institutions and by its servants.

Without being a longer or shorter campaign, the publication of studies, articles and information in the socialist press referring to the outdated nature of religious institutions constituted an important facet of the propaganda activities of the party of the working class, even from before the 1893 unification congress.

In many countries, including Romania, the church entered the modern era as a state institution. Certainly, in each country the church's relationship with the state powers took on characteristics of the history of each people. One of the first signs of freedom of awareness and of social-political progress was, without a doubt, the requirement of separating the church from the state. In Romania, as is known, this desire was completed for the first time after 1948.

The socialist movement in our country formulated in its very first program, in "Ce vor socialistii romani" [What Do the Romanian Socialists Want], the requirement for the separation of church and state. Where, in Romania, the problem of power was not made an issue, since the Orthodox Church was never a competitor, but rather just a servant of secular power, in exchange there were discussions of the consequences for the educational-instructional process of the new generations, being strongly influenced by the official participation of the church in this process.

In precisely analyzing the problems of education, the workers and socialist movement and the party of the working class, after 1893, energetically sought the secularization of this process in order to ensure conditions for scientific education and training. This was one of the frequently presented themes in socialist propaganda - the elimination of the church's right to participate in the training of students in state schools. Certainly, at that time they had

to argue against the poisonous nature of the training of young people's awareness on the basis of religion's explanation - at a level 2,000 years old - for certain problems such as the origins of life and man, the causes of the great natural phenomena and so forth. The magazine CONTEMPORANUL earned its incontestable merit in the history of scientific thought in Romania by dealing with such problems from the point of view of the latest advances of science.

Of course, not all the studies taken from CONTEMPORANUL and reproduced in this book refer directly to religion, but all of them present a broad variety of aspects from the latest advances of science, precisely to peel away the facade of biblical explanations. Moreover, we must note that, at least in the first part, that is, in the last decades of the last century, the propaganda blended together - especially by way of the articles by Sofia Nadejde - the current scientific information with the explanation of popular beliefs. For this reason, it could not be said that the socialist writings were "combating" religion, but rather they were explaining the origins themselves of certain facts, superstitions and beliefs that were present in the life of the Romanian people.

There are articles or studies in this book which shade very much the explanations for certain popular customs which, although attributed to religious beliefs, hide an amount of human experience that has been validated by science.

In other situations and, in fact, in most cases it demonstrates the caducity of religion by stressing its historic nature. Each custom and each belief that exists among the people without the slightest real empirical-scientific substrata takes on its own explanation during the historical period in which it appeared. In the book, we find several items of old and ancient history in order to show the scientific data that had been discovered to that point in connection with the origins of man, clearly in order to replace the biblical version of this question.

Finally, the last category of materials introduced in this book is the exegeses on biblical texts through which we see proof of the inconsistencies, lack of agreement and absurdities contained in these texts, in addition to the real historical portion of the Bible which no one contests.

Among the most quoted authors we find Ioan Nadejde, Sofia Nadejde, Raicu Ionescu-Rion, Constantin Mille, Ottoi Calin, Max Vexler and Al. Dobrogeanu-Gherea (G. Alexe). Similarly, there are several texts by C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea regarding the materialist view.

These writings belong to the era at the end of the last century and the beginning of our century. These were contemporary writings of Engels' "The Dialectics of Nature" or Lenin's "Materialism and Empirio-criticism," works which, however, were not known to the Romanian authors, with the first

being published only in 1925, while the second was published in 1914. Regardless of whether these basic works of scientific socialism were known or not - the first, clearly, could not have been known under any circumstances -, the authors in Romania, beginning with the general data of socialist thought and on the basis of understanding the realities of society where they were working, drew up and published a series of works, studies and articles on the subject of religion and the relationships between religious beliefs and objective, scientific data which stand at the basis of the materialist view - the view of the party of the working class.

This is the many times original contribution of Romanian socialist thought to the treasury of scientific socialism, which this book points out in a current manner, A current manner in which the problem of religion continues - actually as the Romanian socialists forecasted - to be the objective of ideological discussions.

In our opinion, the material in this book is a successful part of this broad discussion that is designed to lead to the generalization of a scientific view of the world for all members of society.

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# PLACE OF NATION, STATE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian Apr 84 pp 139-142

[Review by Constantin Botoran of book "Natiunea si Statul in relatiile Internationale" [The Nation and State in International Relations] by Victor Duculescu, Eugenia Stefan, Dumitru I. Maziliu, et al, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1982, 426 pages]

[Text] One of the notable characteristics of contemporary reality is the powerful affirmation of nations and national states as factors of special importance for social progress and the healthy evolution of international relations. The struggle of peoples who have been freed from colonialist domination to pull themselves together as nations within the framework of their own independent and sovereign states and the affirmation of their desire to develop independently demonstrate unequivocally that the nation - as a form of human community and as a necessary stage for the development of social affairs - represents an inexorable process and a natural stage in the evolution of each people. At the same time, the formation and development of sovereign nations and national states play a role of great significance in the struggle to eliminate underdevelopment and build a new international order and to eliminate imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies.

Given the multiple progressive and constructive values of the nation and the national state, the important role that it has in the evolution of the contemporary world and the great current nature of the problems bound by this domain, it is most welcome to see the appearance, under the aegis of the Institute of Political Science and the Study of National Problems within the framework of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, of this book, a broad collection of studies done by certain known researchers in this field.\*

The study that starts off this book demonstrates on the basis of data and facts the realistic and profoundly scientific nature of the thesis formulated by comrade

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\* The studies in this book were done, in order, by: Victor Duculescu, Eugenia Stefan, Dumitru I. Maziliu, Gheorghe Stoian, Elena Florea, Alexe Andris, Ion Florea, Traian Caraciuc, Nicolae S. Stanescu, Maria Marian, Gheorghe Berescu, Mircea Malita, Mihai Arsene, Edwin Glaser, Corneliu Bogdan, Aurelian Moise, Mircea Nicolaescu, Vasile Sandru, Dumitru Tranca, Dumitru Ghise, Victor Opaschi, Ilie Seftiuc, Monica Grigorescu, Domitian Baltei. Coordinators: Ion Florea, Victor Duculescu, Victor Opaschi.

Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the fact that in international affairs today we see two diametrically opposed trends: on one hand, the imperialist policy of force and diktat, of maintaining and redividing zones of influence, of accentuating the arms race; on the other hand, the ever more powerful orientation towards a new policy that will put an end to the use of force, the threat of force, diktat, zones of influence and the arms race, and that will ensure the independent development of peoples, their cooperation based on the principles of equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. The first trend, as comes out in this study, does not essentially differ from that of the imperialist states of the last century, except for the fact that its promoters resort to ever more subtle means of domination which, officially, take on forms of certain relationships of assistance and mutual aid. On the other hand, the current policy of zones and spheres of influence are not limited to political-military aspects, but also affect various other fields, such as economic, technical-scientific or cultural cooperation. The second trend is reflected in the affirmation of sovereign nations and national states whose policies are based on the democratic principles of promoting equal rights for all nations. As an exponent of the interests of the nation it represents, the study points out, the sovereign national state is, therefore, presented - despite all the attempts to justify the "policy of power - as an important instrument for affirming the interests of each people and for promoting a new policy in accordance with the aspirations for peace, prosperity and progress, with all the progressive forces in the world coming out in favor of this (p 16).

A series of studies deal with in detail and approach from multiple angles a complex question involving the place and role of nations and national states in the system of international relations: the socialist nations and their role in international affairs; the dialectical unity of national and international interests in RCP policy; patriotism, sovereignty and international solidarity - values of contemporary progress; the multiple realities between a nation as a fundamental reality of our times and the global problems of mankind; the relationship of the national state and trans-national corporations; national-international; and the nation - the creator and bearer of certain unambiguous values. Beginning with a profound analysis of the processes in the reality of our times and frequently making references to the historical experiences of our people and other peoples, the authors broadly argue the conclusion that contemporary society and international affairs cannot exist and cannot develop without nations and national states and that independence and sovereignty, as fundamental attributes of nations and states, are indispensable conditions for broadening international relations, and they play an immense role in the prospering of all peoples.

The above-mentioned studies show the significant contribution made by the Romanian Communist Party and by its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the scientific resolution of theoretical problems regarding the role of the nation and the national state in the evolution of society and contemporary international relations. Beginning with the recognition of the nation as an organic structural unit of the entire world system, our

party formulated a thesis of exceptional theoretical and practical value whereby the nation and the national state - far from being outdated concepts - continue and will continue to be for a long time as fundamental realities in the life of people and in international affairs, with a role of great significance in the progress of contemporary society.

Many authors pause over the problem referring to relationships between socialist nations, their role as an active factor in international affairs and, in connection with this, the dialectic relationship of national-international in the policy of our party. The experience of the socialist countries - the book stresses - shows that the nation and the national state take on under socialism special values, both with regards to the multilateral development of each socialist country and the establishment of a new type of relations between states which will have a positive influence upon the evolution of overall international relations. On this subject, the book points out, our party has drawn up a thesis regarding the special responsibilities of the socialist countries regarding all the great problems facing mankind, and it has militated and is militating for the purpose of increasing the cohesion of the socialist countries and all the progressive forces in the world (p 282). Our country's foreign policy reflects the harmony between national objectives and international ones and actually demonstrates that the two categories of objectives are fully compatible with the principles of national sovereignty and independence. This is the source of the conclusion whereby the national interests of a country are incompatible with the violation of its sovereignty (p 283). Our party has always started with the fact that the power of socialism, its ability to constructively influence the course of the evolution of contemporary society and its prestige in the world depend directly upon the progress that each socialist nation achieves in its multilateral development. Seen through the prism of this necessity, the points of view put forth by theoreticians in socialist countries seem incomprehensible and unacceptable when they maintain that the evolution of socialist nations are directed towards their "merger" by way of dis-establishing national borders, by way of the "disappearance" of nations as a form of ethnic-social community on the basis of the "disappearance" of national differences and ethnic traits, within the framework of the general process of evolution towards a "non-national mankind of victorious communism throughout the entire world." Clearly, such points of view are in total contradiction with reality and with the trends of development of contemporary society (p 102).

In close connection with the lawful desire of people to develop freely within their own national framework and with the desire to build a more just and more equitable world, there also is the minority problem, that is, the status and the future of coinhabitating nationalities existing within the framework of national states as a result of historical developments. Regional ethnic protest movements that have been carried out in recent years in some developed capitalist countries - brought about, as shown in the book, by a policy of forced assimilation carried out by ruling groups and, especially, by social-economic inequalities and discrimination in the area of work and

culture against certain ethnic groups in these countries - have accentuated instability in international affairs and have given rise to tensions and conflicts. In rejecting the different solutions circulated by Western ideology, the book stresses that any constructive policy concerning the nationality problem can only begin with the initial and required premise of recognizing the historical existence of coinhabitating nationalities and of taking into consideration their legitimate interests (p 86).

Several of the studies refer to the process of the creation and affirmation of nations and national states in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The efforts of the authors to show the traits and specific points of this process, one brought about by the interaction of a number of internal and external factors and by the characteristics of the past and present histories of these peoples, are of a nature to contribute to understanding the role of nations and national states as basic factors for speeding up the economic-social progress of people. The more than 100 independent national states existing on these continents, where more than 1.5 billion people live, confirm by way of historical data and the profound transformations that are occurring in their structure and superstructure, the scientific thesis whereby the aspirations of people to exist in nations and to have their own national life are aspirations of a profound historical legitimacy. And, the nation and the national state are called upon to continue to have a role of great significance in the struggle against imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policies and for the placement of relationships between states on new principles of equality and equity and of constructive cooperation in the name of the ideals of national and social liberty.

By way of the manner in which each subject is dealt with, through the content of ideas and by way of the conclusions that are formulated, the book is an argued response to those theories which, in one form or another, deny or minimize the role of the nation and national state in contemporary society, and underestimate the cause of the sovereignty of the people, showing a serious lack of understanding of the realities of today's world. In this book there is a series of data and facts which bring to light the anachronic and anti-scientific nature of these theories. The followers of the internationalist theories, for example, feel - as can be seen in many of these studies - that under current conditions the nation and national state, frequently qualified as artificial constructs that are maintained solely by restrictive force, slow the progress of society. They are in favor of their replacement with a society not having distinct and inviolable territorial-state borders, a society having a trans-national and superstatel nature. These same followers state that between the interdependency of economies - an objective phenomenon that is taking place during the current stage as a result of the size of the technical-scientific revolution - and the maintenance of national independence and sovereignty there is an incompatible relationship and that the nation-states of our times have a framework that is "too narrow," which slows the development of the forces of production in relation to the requirements of the technical-scientific revolution. This is the source of the call for the reduction of sovereignty and the attempt to transfer "portions" of sovereignty from one nation to an

"impartial" supernational authority which, actually, represents nothing more than a new form of a policy of domination and oppression. The negation of internationalism, the book points out, is first of all necessary as a question of realism. The contemporary world appears to us as a world of nations eager to live in peace and freedom and to cooperate in the resolution of global problems on the basis of certain unanimously recognized principles (p 228). In our party's view, interdependency as an objective process must be based on the continued strengthening of each nation and respect for national state sovereignty, the sole path which can avoid the sharpening of contradictions and conflicts. Between interdependency and independence there is a dialectic unity; interdependency without independence actually represents dependency, subordination, an asymmetrical relationship of inequality (p 282).

This book, by way of its rich content of ideas and through the objectivity with which it clarifies a series of aspects of the complex problems that are covered, finds its deserved place among the ranks of those who carry out their activities in the field of social sciences, as well as among the public, and who are eager to thoroughly understand the implications of a problem of such a current nature, such as the one regarding the role and the future of the nation and national state in the contemporary era.

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## GAP BETWEEN MARXIST IDEALS, REALITIES EXAMINED

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 238-240, Summer 1984 p 19

[Article by Neven Sesardic: "Revolutionary Philosophy Between Reality and the Ideal"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] After 1917 no one could any longer say to Marxists that their ideas were mere fantasies which had no relation whatsoever with reality. Revolutionary philosophy had gone outside the books of the pioneers and was incarnated in a quite real political regime whose existence millions of people had had an occasion to experience in one way or another. It is precisely to that "actualization" that Marxist theory in large part owes the fact that it became one of the most discussed political doctrines in the 20th century.

In the controversies which developed very early on a large number of Marxists placed themselves on the side of the Bolsheviks from the outset and without any sort of reserve, regarding their coming to power as a triumph of scientific socialism and the beginning of the end of human prehistory. The enthusiasm for the Soviet Union was not shaken even by the thirties during the large-scale executions, the starvation, the Moscow trials and the concentration camps. The main characteristic of a large portion of the leftwing intelligentsia was an amazing resistance to any sort of adverse testimony about the first country of socialism and an unwillingness to face facts that were altogether clear and indisputable. I will illustrate that "break with reality," which affected an immense number of intellectuals, with several of the most characteristic examples.

In 1953 Brecht wrote on the occasion of Stalin's death: "The oppressed on five continents, those who have already liberated themselves and those who are fighting for world peace must have felt as though their hearts stopped beating when they heard that Stalin had died. He was the embodiment of their hopes."<sup>1</sup> In 1947 Merleau-Ponty argued the "objective" guilt of the victims of the Moscow trials, and Lukacs justified the trials that same year, asserting that they had increased the chances for the Russian victory at Stalingrad. In 1934 Horkheimer wrote that even though many things argued against the events in the Soviet Union, one "continued to hope in the same way as a cancer victim believes unreliable news that a cure for cancer has probably been found."<sup>2</sup> Sartre's attitude in 1956 was very similar: "But in order to preserve hope, we must do exactly the opposite: in spite of the mistakes, the monstrous

things and the crimes, acknowledge the obvious advantages of the socialist camp...."<sup>3</sup> In 1934 Bernard Shaw gave assurances that Stalin could be relieved of his duties in 10 minutes if his activity were not satisfactory. Speaking in 1973 about the sinister aspects of the Soviet reality, Bloch found an original way of avoiding that unpleasant topic: "I do not wish to discuss that, because there are many people in the West who have no right to be right."<sup>4</sup> That is a truly frightening way of putting it, especially when we know that it comes from a philosopher which many people consider to be a great humanist even today: "there are many people in the West who /do not have the right to be right/"!

Sometimes it was acknowledged that there were certain "deviations," and there were two interesting ways in which they were usually justified. First, it was said that certain "negative" things, however deserving of condemnation, still represented an absolutely necessary step without which it would not have been possible for this new form of society to develop and undergo industrialization. The best assessment of this kind of apology for Stalinist policy is contained in the following comment by Robert Conquest: "Stalinism is one of the ways of achieving industrialization, just as cannibalism is one of the ways of obtaining high-protein nutrition."<sup>5</sup>

Second, Marxists often presented the argument that the only solution in the fight against fascism was to defend the Soviet Union in spite of all its shortcomings. In that false alternative Social Democracy was treated as the "twin brother of fascism" and the implication was that being against fascism meant being in favor of Stalin. (Louis Aragon even asserted that all those who express doubts concerning the guilt of the defendants in the Moscow trials thereby actually showed themselves to be "defenders of Hitler and the Gestapo."<sup>6</sup>) Today it is clear to everyone that the assurance that Stalinism and fascism exhaust all the possibilities and that the Social Democrat policy of that time was only one form of fascism ("social fascism") was utterly mistaken. But the fact that the position that it was impossible to be against fascism without being completely devoted to the Soviet Union held on an unusually long time on the Left led Orwell to conclude in 1944: "The sin of almost all leftists since 1933 is that they wanted to be antifascists without being antitotalitarian."<sup>7</sup>

After Khrushchev's speech in 1956 it was no longer possible to assert, as it had been up until that time, that talk about police terror and about the despotic character of the Soviet state was a mere fruit of anticommunist propaganda. The criticism this time came from the inside, from the rostrum of the party congress, so that even those who were most enthusiastic about the Soviet Union still had to reconcile themselves in the end to the knowledge that that society was still lagging far behind what Marxism had proclaimed as the goal of revolutionary transformation. Fewer and fewer people were willing to take a hard line in defense of Marx's vision of the future, that is, to argue that it had already by and large been achieved in the East. Most intellectuals of leftwing orientation opted for a softer and indisputably more sensible attitude: they began to display great skepticism toward "real socialism," and while still holding to the Marxist utopia as a model, they felt that it had no correlate whatsoever in existing reality.

The difference between the "hard" and "softer" line in defense of Marx's blueprint of the ideal society can be best illustrated by the following anecdote about the American economist Galbraith. When Galbraith took a trip to the Soviet Union, he sent a message to his friend the philosopher Sidney Hook: "Tell Sidney not to worry, I won't come back a communist." Hook responded to that: "I am not worried that he will come back a communist; I am afraid that he will come back and say that /they/ are not communists."<sup>8</sup> As a matter of fact Hook was afraid that Galbraith, instead of completely rejecting the Marxist ideal on the basis of his experience, would conclude simply that Soviet society had no relation to that ideal whatsoever.

However, what is wrong with that conclusion? That line of reasoning is a typical reaction of many contemporary Marxists when someone mentions to them the deplorable consequences of a policy which has been conducted by taking an oath in the name of Marx. There are three fundamental mistakes contained in that posture of theirs.

First, the explanation which naturally imposes itself in that situation is rejected too easily--that /it is not/ an accident that aspirations to the Marxist ideal have led to the results which history has been showing us, but that on the contrary, there is some internal connection between them which will similarly govern events in the future as well. Otherwise one would have to suppose that it is a pure historical coincidence that the followers of the Marxist vision of the future have up to now ended up with unusual frequency engaging in an activity which was profoundly out of line with the ideal proclaimed.

Second, if in actuality no present-day society even comes close to resembling Marx's vision of the future, then the revolutionary philosophy comes dangerously close to pure utopianism. If we cut all the connections between the idea of the "realm of freedom" and everything that its protagonists have done over the last 70 years, we will, it is true, save that idea from being sullied with historical practice, but then everyone will be able to say that we are dealing here with a pure fantasy which is just as unfeasible as it is beautiful. What one would have to cite is something like an existence proof, proof that it is possible to build that form of society which is being set up as the desideratum. As Maurice Duverger has said: "It will not be possible to persuade people that democratic socialism is possible by representing it as a simple mechanical union of the liberal practice of the West and the principles which up to now have led to dictatorial socialism. It is not enough to graft freedom onto socialism for it to be liberalized. It has to be proven that it will not cause a rejection reaction. And the economic efficiency of socialism also has to be proved, a matter on which Soviet experience does not exactly offer the best evidence."<sup>9</sup>

Third, the criticism of so-called "bourgeois" democracy from the standpoint of an ideal which has never been realized even approximately, which is a commonplace in Marxist literature, is logically untenable. That is, one should compare either a real society with real societies or ideals with ideals. To proceed otherwise and to make comparisons between things which are not of the same rank--for example, to condemn capitalist reality in a comparison with the

socialist model--is the same as adding up pears and apples. Many authors have pointed out this fundamental error in the political philosophy of a large portion of the Left, and I will cite here only the words of Sidney Hook: "I was wrong in judging capitalism on the basis of its consequences and socialism on the basis of its hopes and aspirations; capitalism according to its deeds, and socialism according to its literature. The same mistake and its baneful consequences can be noted up to this very day in the judgment and in the behavior of those individuals who, obsessed with the shortcomings of the affluent society, which are truly there, commit themselves to one of the forms of totalitarian communism."<sup>10</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted from J. Fenton, "Aimez-Vous Brecht," THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS, Vol 31, No 4, 15 March 1984.
2. Quoted from M. Jay, "Dijalekticka imaginacija" [The Dialectical Imagination], "Svjetlost" of Sarajevo and "Globus" of Zagreb, p 44.
3. J. P. Sartre, "Filozofske i politicke rasprave" [Philosophical and Political Discussions], "Skolska knjiga," Zagreb, 1981, p 145.
4. E. Bloch, "The Bourgeois World and Socialism," PRAXIS, No 5-6, 1973, p 576.
5. Quoted from M. Curtis, "Totalitarianism," Transaction Books, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1979, p 26.
6. Quoted from M. Merleau-Ponty, "Humanisme et terreur," Gallimard, Paris, 1947, p 32.
7. G. Orwell, "Collected Essays," Secker and Warburg, London, 1961, p 239.
8. Quoted from B. D. Wolfe, "Revolution and Reality," The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1981, p 315.
9. M. Duverger, "Lettre ouverte aux socialistes," Albin Michel, Paris, 1976, pp 64-65.
10. S. Hook, "Breaking With the Communists--A Memoir," COMMENTARY, Vol 77, No 2, February 1984, p 47.

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PHILOSOPHICAL REFLECTIONS ON ASPECTS OF SOCIALISM

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 238-240, Summer 1984 p 61

[Article by Gregor Tomc: "What Is What in the Progressive Movement?"]

[Text] The Mental Disorders of the Transitional Period \*

Not only have a new Marxist science, a new socialist art, a new ethics, new relations and a new man developed in the new socioeconomic formation of real socialism, but a new psychiatry has already developed, one which has discovered completely new forms of mental disorders: the mania for bringing out the truth; obsessive reformistic illusions; persistent religiosity; schizophrenic advocacy of political reforms; fixation on the writing and, in the milder form, the signing of petitions; meeting people of like mind in private dwellings, and so on. What all the mental disorders of the transitional period have in common is that they revolve around the desire of individuals and groups to reform the status quo. In the old society the occurrence of mental disorders made us happier, while in the new social system they are prohibited, since they are against the principles on which it is based.

The Party

The party is constituted in the new society as a political class in the traditional sense, as a class which has to be the ruling class for it to be socially dominant. It clearly follows therefrom that order and peace prevail in real socialism; otherwise there could be no realsocialism.

The Revolution

Revolution is by definition a utopistic project. If the conditions are ripe for revolution, the transformation is not revolutionary, but occurs relatively gradually and nonviolently. If the conditions are not ripe, then the change aspired to is not possible. Certainly we all know quite well that in the latter case there will be definite changes, but they are of unintentional significance. It clearly follows from that that the basic characteristics of real socialism are involuntary, unforeseeable and unfathomable.

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\* This article, originally written in Slovenian and translated into Serbo-Croatian by Branislav Dimitrijevic, is merely an excerpt from a more extensive encyclopedic book which is soon to be published by Zalozba Borec.

## The Secular Religion

The aim of the secular religion is to achieve a paradise on earth in which a new man is born; that is, people become gods. It is significant about the societies of the transitional period that that vision of extreme polytheism is incarnated in the personality cult. Beliefs in one god wither away with the one who gets stronger.

## Socialist Realism

We can represent reality in the societies of the transitional period most easily with Plato's and Socrates' picture of the prisoners hidden in a pit who cannot turn their heads. A fire is burning behind them, and there is a wall in front of them. On the wall they see their own shadows and the shadows of things which stand between them and the fire. Since they see nothing else, they think that the shadows are real. One of them frees himself of his fetters and climbs out of the cave. He first sees the just world. He attempts to describe his experience to his comrades, but explain to them that what they see is only a reflection of reality. They, of course, did not believe him, they were unable to believe him. They were condemned to see only an apparition of the truth.

## Four Irrefutable Proofs of the Existence of the Leader

### First proof--from dwarfism:

Since a dwarf is concealed in every man, then there must also be an ultimate and final dwarf, and that is the Leader.

### Second proof--from unhappiness:

Every unhappiness has its cause, and if we go far enough back in the causal relationship, we will arrive at--the Leader.

### Third proof--from weakness:

People are pieces of flesh seeking protection. A powerful Leader stands behind all weak humanity.

### Fourth proof--from existence:

If there exists any omnipotent being, then that must be the perfect Leader.

## Theses Concerning Marx

### I

On one occasion laws govern the processes of history independently of man's will and consciousness, while on another occasion man himself creates history.

All the efforts of students to bring together the early voluntaristic-humanistic elements (ideology) with the mature economic determinism (science) of Marx have been unsuccessful. Two Marxisms have come into being from Marx's two periods.

If Marxism is criticized from positions of determinism, then Marxists appeal to the role of subjective factors (class consciousness and the class struggle, man as a creature of praxis), but if it is criticized from the positions of voluntarism, the reference is to the mention of objective factors in the doctrine (the natural laws of capitalism, which lead to socialism and communism independently of man's will and consciousness). The unfalsifiability of the theory gushes out of that inner fracture.

## II

If it is so that a man must prove in practice the truth, the reality of his thought, then in at least two aspects experience has demonstrated the untruthfulness of Marxism. First, in that a collapse has not occurred in the countries which are industrially the most advanced. Second, in that revolution on behalf of socialism occurred in the industrially underdeveloped countries.

Actual development has thereby called into question both the Marxist theory of capitalism (the labor theory of value, polarization, pauperization) as well as the role of the proletariat (it has turned out that a proletarian revolution can be carried out with minimum support of the proletariat)--the Soviet Union, against its will--eastern Europe, without its support--China, and also even without the proletariat and its party--Cuba.

## III

Marx correctly noted the structural conditionality of social conflicts. Nevertheless, that realization led him to studying the industrial society of his time. The vision of the messianic role of the proletariat springs from his early period, the later scientific basis of the theory was all the time at the service of some fictitious revolutionarity.

## IV

Marx relates the existence of classes to the existence of private ownership of the means of production, and he defines private ownership in its stricter sense as the legal foundation of ownership. This meaning of ownership and of its relation to the existence of social classes makes it easy for him to predict the inevitable fall of capitalism and the transition to the classless society back in the 19th century when the first joint stock companies occurred and the first elements of state ownership.

## V

What isn't becomes real in a socialist society because of an ideological imperative, and what is is condemned to nonexistence for the same reason. The point is not that the theory is no longer a theory of present practice, but

that it never was. We are dealing here with an occurrence of pathology at the level of a global social system.

## VI

Marx says in one passage that his main achievement is having discovered the revolutionary role of the proletariat in capitalism. He did not discover that, but invented it.

He developed his conception of the revolutionary role of the proletariat by combining certain features of the lower, worker and middle strata in the Germany, France and England of that time. The German workers in the countryside and in the city, who were in a community, but did not belong to it, were neither a proletariat nor revolutionary. The French preindustrial middle and lower strata, who were revolutionary and who were in a community, but did not belong to it, were not industrial workers. The English workers, who were a proletariat, that is, they were in a community to which they belonged, were not revolutionary.

And in a certain combination of these three social groups from three rather different places Marx constructed his conception of the proletariat: that was a revolutionary class of industrial workers which possessed only its own labor power and which was in a community, but did not belong to it.

## VII

If every theory is conditioned by the place and time in which it is born, then it is likely that Marxism is also so conditioned. Nevertheless, the Marxists have difficulties when they attempt to confront their own past. For that matter, how are we to explain their inability to grasp their own Stalinist history and to recognize their own mistakes. They are unable to do this, since they obviously have not yet renounced their Stalinist past, since they are still repeating the same mistakes. Stalinism is not an aberration, a historical mistake, but a rule of development. Terrorist practice is a consequence of historical weakness; Stalinism therefore reflects the utopianism of its own project. Anyone who today takes up positions of Marxism is actually a non-Marxist. For anything to be built on the assertions of Marxism, it first has to be superseded. Marxists today are not changing the world, but protecting the theory of Marxism against change. They are in favor of criticism of everything that exists only when it is at someone else's expense. True science is consistently revisionistic.

## VIII

Marxism is relevant today only in certain preindustrial and semi-industrial countries. Its function at the internal level is similar to the function of Protestantism in industrializing western Europe, while at the external level it is closely bound up with the national liberation movements. It thus appears that backwardness does lead to "proletarian revolution," although even that is not inevitable.



## IX

Marxism foretells the past. It offers us criticism of liberal capitalism. That is why the vision of the future socialist society can be only a vision of highly advanced industrialism.

## X

A new radical theory can call to account industrial society itself, getting beyond the traditional dilemma of the Left both in theory and content.

## XI

Sociologists have merely given different explanations of Marxism; everything would indicate that it ought to be changed.

### The Totalitarian State

The totalitarian state has no institutions except those of the party which would not be transmission belts regardless of derivation if they did not derive from the party. The withering away of the state is taking place in such manner that it is becoming stronger. The first historical creation of the human species is incidentally managing to eliminate the contradiction between the particular and the universal, the dialectics between the individual and the general, but still in such a way as to abolish only one pole of that kind of dialectical relationship, bourgeois society.

In real socialism the state becomes the policeman of an atomized multitude.

### Legality

It is in the field of the law that the states of real socialism have carried out probably the most far-reaching revolutionary changes. Cases on trial are still obviously settled on the basis of law, but they have to be in line with socialist legal consciousness. If "socialist legal consciousness" is interpreted by the party, this means that in actuality the principle in effect is actually "extra partem nulla selus" [?] or--there is no settlement outside the party.

### History (The Irony of History)

People who have boasted that they carried out a revolution notice the next day that they had no idea what they would do if the revolution they carried out did not in the least resemble what they wanted to bring about, Engels said somewhere. This is what Hegel called the irony of history, an irony which only a few figures in history have avoided with ease. He forgot to take note that few figures in history call to attention to that irony, that the people is such that it must carry it on its back for a long time.

## THESES ON ECONOMIC, POLITICAL CRISIS

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 238-240, Summer 1984 p 72

[Article by Milorad Vucelic: "Eight Theses Concerning the Crisis"]

[Text] I

If one is to deal with any frankness and acuity with our crisis today, that examination must necessarily be fragmentary. The more integral and consistent framing of conclusions on the basis of clearly recognizable material and facts which are easy to see indicates the universal and dangerous historical regression which is causing anxiety. The fragmentariness of the approach is not, then, only a manner of reflection that comes from the spirit of the age, but may also be a sign of a certain intentional naivety, caution, fear, or indeed conformism.

## II

If this is already a time characterized by an uncritical wave of the past into the present, a time in which the future is sought exclusively in the past even at the meetings organized by the "vanguard of the working class" (as we recently have been informed by the headlines of the daily newspapers), then let us at least try to recognize this time on the basis of the wave of that past and to arrive at an awareness of it.

We seem to think that the past owes us something. Certainly the future has already begun, but without us, and its criteria do not explicitly concern us this time. In these terms, I am afraid, we have not even reached a level at which we could be the subject of its criticism. Because we have been drunk on the past in this era which seems like an "era after the party is over," we cannot regard everything that occurs as "incidents," "cases," "mistakes," "oversights," but we must seek in them some firmer and better-founded logic. Familiarity and concern with the past could, then, at least teach us to recognize the past in the present, and not to seek the future exclusively in the past. To be sure, everything is possible, this time is characterized by an unforeseeable voluntarism, but that is still only one of its characteristics.

### III

From the viewpoint and field of vision of our political bureaucracy Europe, the West and the world in general are perceived as a conspiracy and as a deception. Our small-town bureaucrats have ascertained that "on the other side of the hill" it is not chaos and confusion which prevail at all, but firm rules and principles. Whoever wants to be a part of that world (and we did want to be, although now we are ever further from it) have to honor those rules and established standards of behavior. We cannot be a part of that world only when it suits us.

The home-grown voluntarism would like to encounter in the world arbitrariness of the same kind with which it might somehow be able to come to terms and an understanding without departing from its own domestic habits (in which even patent commonplaces are the subject matter of arbitrary agreements). The failure of this impossible meeting to occur creates the opinion and conviction that everything has turned into a plot against us and that this is the principal and indeed even the only reason of our present crisis.

In all of this, quite logically, it never even occurs to our politocracy to penetrate the class nature of that "plot" and "deception." To find in it, if it wished, a capitalistic class interest--which, incidentally, has existed through various metamorphoses for two full centuries now--and to find its own arguments and answers suitable to the future and the needs of cooperation with that world as it is. That lack of a domestic strategy is accompanied by the lack of a broader international strategy and initiative which might set in motion the debtors of the Third World and all the nonaligned countries. We obviously do not have sufficient strength or courage for anything like that.

The creation of a particular kind of domestic opinion also contributes to all this. On the basis of books, feature articles and news items about Freemasons and similar secret international organizations one gets the impression that history has been and has remained under complete control, that we live in a time of blocked history in which there is no place for revolutionary and social movements, nor for great historical initiatives.

In such a state of insecurity and psychosis and in such a drastic confrontation with our own inability to deal with the world, a point of support had quite normally to be sought somewhere. And it is being sought more and more in those parts of the world and in those communities of which bureaucratic tyranny is characteristic. Ideological revivals of segments of our politocracy or not even revivals, but preserved dogmatic conviction and commitment are a point of support in this matter.

### IV

Bureaucratic voluntarism has suffered several major and exemplary defeats in our country in recent years. In the economic field there has been a disruption of the normal flow of reproduction and a drastic collapse of the ideology and of the practice of the so-called consensus economy. It has turned out that we after all do not have such a vital economy that it can go through all of that relatively unscathed.

Having divorced itself in part from the economy (or at least somewhat more on the defensive with respect to it), but not renouncing the disposition of the major portion of the surplus value of labor, the bureaucratic tyranny and voluntarism had to seek other ways of demonstrating their power.

An ideological anxiety, virtual panic, began to be created. The rhetoric of crisis became a kind of "new" ideology. The cultural and ideological situation were falsified. That public engaged in criticism and dialogue found itself under attack with secret material and public dossiers. There ensued threats in the form of messages announcing that law enforcement agencies would continue to intervene in cases which from the legal standpoint are debatable, to say the least. Prosecutors speak from on high in the assembly, answering the delegates to the effect that there must not be any question of adopting amendments of any article of the laws which are for that assembly as the source of legality to adopt and amend, not the prosecutor.

There have been arrests of which the public is not informed, or it is informed exclusively through communiques or only when the entire world press has written about it for an entire month! The memory of history does not go back far--the "case" of Kosovo seems not to have taught anyone anything. We had our first hunger strikers. People are being taken to court on the basis of private and personal papers. There is an ever more evident tendency to criminalize private and spontaneous acts which are permitted by the constitution and law. Various ideological "wicked witches" are making ever more frequent use of the constitutionally and legally untenable category of dissident.

Segments of the bureaucracy are using almost ready-made creative intellectual potential as ordinary coin of the realm in settling accounts. Political admonitions have a dual function: they are a prerequisite of repression, but also a way of justifying it after the fact. The repressive potential of the apparatus of the state is growing larger. The processes of satanization of politics with a vocabulary and set of terms which were perhaps suitable to the times of the struggle against domestic traitors and Ballistic bands, but certainly unsuitable to modern societies, are still going on.

We seem to be hearing an echo of those famous cynical words about the right of the state and the regime to defend itself. As though someone intentionally wants to portray the present situation as chaos in which order has to be restored. It is as though someone were constantly reporting us to some powerful foreign center in the name of socialism and communism. There are around us increasingly numerous pieces of evidence of the universal primitivization and historical regression, along with elements of real socialism. There is constant talk about some conspiracy, and before our eyes there seem to be authentic hints and attempts occurring of a fierce attack against self-managing, democratic, libertarian and Yugoslav socialism.

V

What is happening with the League of Communists in the situation which we can designate a situation in which the system of domination has come into conflict with the system of social reproduction? The LCY seems to have no initiative

whatsoever. Its role seems to have been decanted away in the institutional levels of its own confederalism, in an entanglement of activities and undertakings by government bodies. The highest bodies of the LC, instead of waging a fight to carry out the LCY Program and the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, have been working at retroactive legalization and legitimization of semiprivate deals within the party confederalism. Sterile economic debates are entered into without any sort of insights from the standpoint of social welfare.... The activity of the LCY seems to have been suspended by the work of government bodies.

The LCY still seems to have an illusion about its vanguard role. It attempts to proclaim its political powerlessness to be the principle of standing aloof from power and of exercising ideological leadership, and it attempts to offset its lack of ideas and ideological leadership by ratifying the semiprivate bureaucratic bargains and erroneous analyses, assessments and forecasts.

To illustrate, let us imagine this kind of situation in trying to find a differentiated attitude of the LC toward power. Party organizations and the official bodies of the LCY refer to the party responsibility of the public prosecutor for having threatened one of the basic programmatic positions of the LCY concerning the freedom of creativity in banning a book or in some unfounded legal interpretation! That would be quite normal in a democratic situation in which the LC is actually aware that it is not in power. Today that is not possible. The obligation of being the power and standing alongside the power stands written in some kind of subconsciousness of the LC authorities.

There is talk about opportunism in the ranks of the LC, but people overlook that the party rank and file has not had occasion in recent years to conduct a debate about any sort of vital problem. At that time the decisions and conclusions of the central committees or of the congresses were decisions of the entire membership or of its majority, so that differentiation and assessment as to what is and what is not opportunism were possible on that basis. In that context, then, one might speak of the necessity of differences, but of differences based on authentic articulation of the social or some other interest of the membership, and not on the basis of differences between more or less alienated leadership bodies.

## VI

The state of affairs in society is also indicated by a lack of awareness of the social welfare aspects of who the appeals and the various resolutions for mobilization are addressed to. Leaving aside mere rhetoric, this problem seems to have utterly vanished from our field of vision. More and more the point of support is being sought (in a time of constant decline of the standard of living of the working class) in forms of petty corruption of class consciousness and a neglect of the interests of the most productive segments of the working class and its organic intelligentsia. That is why I think there is good reason to quote the position of Josip Zupanov on this problem: "The question that imposes itself on me here is this--although I cannot answer it with all the facts in this framework: Which is the social group in our country of which the political bureaucracy is the patron, which represents the social

base of the power and the elitist way of life of the bureaucracy? It seems to be the class of manual workers, comparatively poorly organized, poorly paid, largely living in bad housing, lacking trade union consciousness and experience in the struggle on the labor market, a group which is constantly replenished with newcomers from rural areas. That group--identified with the historical working class--is the source of the historical legitimacy of the political bureaucracy, and at the same time a plastic material which can be shaped at will and which can be manipulated in the game against the other strata which have certain aspirations to participation in power (intelligentsia, technocracy)."

If we also take into account the ever more pronounced strengthening of legal nationalism and the neglect of the class aspect in favor of the ethnic aspect, which is almost an official political position, then we can even now in coming years see the real dangers of rightwing populism with a clear nationalistic ideology and also with ethnic leaders. That would be a retrograde process that would completely destroy or falsify the consciousness "that the populist characteristic of Titoism, as a new populist culture of all the south Slav peoples is that principal historical legacy with which we can make up for certain shortcomings arising out of the fact that we were rather late in beginning the industrialization and urbanization of our country" (Veljko Rus).

To arrive at a true understanding of the consequences of this kind of situation one should recall the firm alliance there always was and is even today between nationalism and Stalinism and the antidemocratic in general. In the recent past it has given particularly drastic evidence of itself.

## VII

The LCY exerts pressure and persistently equalizes the Right and the Left much like ballast. It is constantly as though some false balance were being achieved in which it is often forgotten that the LCY is in both its program and history a party of social revolution and accordingly a party of the Left. It is not our concern on this occasion to point out that that balance is only apparent, since the brunt of the blow is always taken by the Left. Our purpose lies elsewhere.

If the relation between the Right and Left is poorly balanced in that way, we could get into a situation where the LC becomes not only in its composition, but even in its program, a party of social compromise instead of a party of social revolution.

Helga Grebing has pointed out yet another possible consequence of equalizing the Right and Left, and it lies precisely along this line. Equalizing the Right and Left "offers the possibility of consensus between those who have always been against the Right, but are now also against the Left and now--ready to be against the Right as well--wish to acquire a moral position (and in this case a political position as well--M. V.) which makes it possible for them to come out against the Left."

This kind of politics and tendencies of this kind have offered an occasion and excuse for a goodly segment of our intelligentsia and citizenry to deny the relation between Left and Right and in defense of their own comfortable social status and interest to accomplish what is presumed to be a constant climb or make a fashionable exit in a "new sensitivity."

#### VIII

In our present situation any rhetoric in the style of "we are continuing what has been begun" is nothing other than traveling in a circle both of bureaucratic language and of the bureaucratic mode of existence. It is falling into an endless cycle of bureaucratic deals and balancing. Instead of that we need a strong socialization of what we would call the agon of change, of radical change and of a step aside from what has been historically trampled down, but which with the help of naked government power is trying to impose itself once again and could last for quite a long time. And if the time is not propitious for the new, then opposition to it can at least offer an occasion to demonstrate that in drastic terms.

7045

CSO: 2800/485

PROSPECTIVE INCREASE IN FOREIGN INVESTMENT QUESTIONED

Zagreb POLET in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 84 p 5

[Article by L. Borovic: "Blood Group: \$: How to Increase Indebtedness"]

[Text] He immediately became enraged. Not because he was too much of a patriot or socialist purist, but rather because it seemed to him that he was seeing one more example of hypocrisy, which it is difficult for a person to get used to, no matter how long he looks at it. He crumpled the newspaper and swore abstractedly. But he could not resist it -- he straightened out the paper and once more read part of the TANJUG report:

"As reported by the Federal Secretariat for Information, the Federal Executive Council has adopted a draft law on changes and additions to the law on the investment of the funds of foreign persons in domestic organizations of associated labor... The proposed draft law does not restrict the ratio of the investments of the foreign person and the domestic organization of associated labor, nor does it limit the profit of the foreign investor... Also proposed is an addition that with the expiration of the investment contract, the foreign person has the right to recover the value of the funds invested and funds based on a share in the income of the basic organization of associated labor in which the funds are invested, up to the amount of a demand in accordance with a normal account if they are indicated on it... The draft law on changes and additions to the law on the investment of the funds of foreign persons in domestic organizations of associated labor will be sent by the Federal Executive Council to the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia."

The Spirit's Opportunity To Become a Vampire

In the absence of expert explanations, he had to rely on his own layman's assessment. The law on the investment of the funds of foreign persons in domestic organizations of associated labor was adopted in 1967 (and brought into accordance with the constitution and the law on Associated Labor in 1978). It included many restrictive provisions, allegedly because of a fear of the penetration of foreign capital and the restoration of capitalism. The best known is the provision regarding the ratio of invested capital, which guarantees at least a minimal advantage (51 to 49 percent)



to domestic capital. Thus, there was a desire to keep the foreign capital under control, like a spirit in a corked bottle. Now suddenly changes are being made that, as it appears to the layman, give the spirit the opportunity to become a vampire. The vital question is why?

It can be assumed that the authorities felt that conditions have changed and that consequently there is no longer any reason to hold on to the cork, since the spirit is no longer dangerous. It is difficult, however, to believe that someone would be so naive and overlook the fact that 17 years are too short a period for capital to change its coat, not to speak of its nature.

It is more likely, the layman thought angrily, that in those 17 years changes occurred in the domestic area. Everything indicates that domestic socialist capital is weaker in energy than capitalist capital, and can no longer perpetuate itself without a regular influx of fresh blood from foreign voluntary donors.

No normal person will say that the changes that are now being proposed are the key links in creating a chain for foreign capital to make itself at home. Everyone can see that even without this it has already insinuated itself, through bank credits, the sale of licenses, and the exportation of dubious technology to our country. And also -- something that is not the least important -- through an alliance with a new group of domestic performers of the capital function who do not hesitate to conclude even the most unfavorable deals just to enlarge their haciendas and dachas a little more.

Wait, hold on, this is an insinuation that you cannot prove. Naturally you cannot, if the lack of any economic logic and a look at, hmm, legally acquired property are not sufficient proof. But since we are already on this, here are some more quite logical thoughts: possibly this concession to foreign capital is not just our will and our choice; maybe it forced the concession itself in one of the numerous negotiations. Many experiences show that capital is not politically neutral, and that the infiltration of various geostrategic interests through it is feasible. This is a trait in the nature of capital that is often forgotten.

#### Danger Zone of the Heritage

On the other hand, the experts enumerate endlessly the benefits that Yugoslavia can obtain from the unrestricted investment of foreign capital: more successful production, increased exports, great employment of our workers, and various other blessings. In other words, the experts assure us that foreign capital is willing to help us unselfishly, and that we only have to get it interested.

Well, let's say that that is so. But thus far foreign capital has not been interested, and usually has not even made use of the permitted 49 percent. This formula is a discouragement in advance, as acknowledged even by the experts, since the capital invested in Yugoslavia must necessarily be

amortized, and in a system of social ownership this means that it has to nationalize itself. Thus, as is beautifully said, it does not threaten our heritage.

Now one thing is not clear to the layman: How can the experts expect the elimination of the 49 percent limitation and other restrictive provisions to encourage foreigners to make greater investments if the entire capital will still have to be nationalized? It would only be an incentive if it did not have to be. But then wouldn't it still threaten some of our heritage?

Such a question is raised by the logic of common sense. Not because it fears some future threat to our glorious heritage, but rather because it sees that some of this heritage has already entered the danger zone.

Saying that all socialism, even Yugoslav socialism, bears the scars of capitalism is neither great wisdom nor any news.

It would be great wisdom and significant news if someone clearly showed who here is personifying the working class and who is personifying its opposition. But whoever is personifying it, it is clear that it is primarily the domestic bourgeoisie that can expect to benefit from a larger involvement of foreign capital. Viewing the matter impartially and without patriotic-supporter emotions, our heritage is threatened by less danger from foreign than from the domestic bourgeois, who by relying on the foreign bourgeois nourishes indigenous greed and the burden of the legacy of unquenchable feudal avarice.

Even a person who personifies the domestic hired worker is left with nothing else but to write letters to the newspapers. Thus, a reader from Rijeka reacted in VJESNIK to an article entitled "Wise Opening," in which the author spoke about the possibilities for a much greater participation by foreign capital in our economy. Here is what we wrote, with all of the typographical errors:

#### Nothing More for the Industrious

"Really, the above-mentioned writer deals most with the Adriatic main highway, which would somehow be modernized and turned into a real highway, all of this with the direct participation of foreign capital. A criticism is suggested in passing that in the 1960's we did not take a considerably greater foreign loan for this road, although very good prospects and conditions existed for this...

"We really are an amazing people! It is as if history and experience have not taught our people anything! Let us take just the example in question, in which our aforementioned article writer -- in spite of the fresh and above all bitter experience with foreign loans -- chides us a great deal for failing to increase our debt, which in any case is too large, by another billion dollars or so!

"However, as this 'wisdom' is to be understood, the new law on investment by foreign persons in our economy will be able to correct this error, and likewise restore the entire tourist industry on the Adriatic. We should live so long!

"Really, I agree completely with the term in the title of this article, specifically, this kind of opening for foreign capital is undoubtedly truly wise. So much indebtedness for our country would likewise be wise, but the question that immediately suggests itself is: For whom? You really do not need much wisdom to find the answer you are looking for.

"Furthermore, it is interesting that the most correct answer to the question raised will be given by the honest and industrious, since as a rule they are the ones at the bottom of the personal incomes and living standard in our country, and thus will be the first to feel the consequences of the 'wisdom' under discussion.

"I am aware that since the above-mentioned law is about to be passed, my views will either be rejected or not even published at all. Nothing new! It is always that way; while the mistake is being made everyone is silent, and when it becomes painful, we are all responsible."

And what can you do? The wise men have their own experts, whom you have to believe whether you want to or not. And the hard-working person is not an expert and a layman on these issues, and you are crazy if you believe him. With a sociological vocabulary, the present situation could be described approximately as follows: the clever person has almost everything, and the hard-working person has almost nothing left. All in all, the opportunity is indicated for the observer on the side to choose whether to believe the one who has everything, or the one who has nothing.

9909

CSO: 2800/481

PLANINC SPEAKS AT VIS MONUMENT UNVEILING CEREMONY

LD111350 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 9 Sep 84

[Text] Vis, 9 Sep (TANJUG)---After a massive rally in Komiza on the Yugoslav island of Vis, Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc today, Sunday, unveiled a monument to togetherness.

The monument was unveiled at a ceremony attended by top Yugoslav officials and veterans of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and the ambassadors and the military attaches of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States, on the coast where Marshal Tito landed on June 7, 1944.

"It is here on this island that the strategy was worked out and it was from this island that the complex closing activities were conducted, activities which assured that what the Yugoslav peoples had won in struggle be not erased at a negotiating table somewhere else," Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc set out.

She said that with the arrival of Tito in 1944, Vis had become a point from which "a decisive battle was fought at the political and diplomatic level to crown with success the long and hard struggle of the Yugoslav peoples, a struggle which had taken a heavy toll."

Milka Planinc pointed out that the liberation of the whole of Yugoslavia's coastal area and its islands was of great importance since it opened a crack in the defence of Hitler's so-called European fortress. She noted that the liberated area served as a "bridge" for establishing direct contact with the allied armies which had landed in southern Italy.

Planinc recalled that Tito had left from Vis in 1944 for the separate talks with Churchill and Stalin, talks in which Tito's determination and clear vision of the development of socialist society in Yugoslavia had fully come to expression.

Milka Planinc reiterated that "the lasting message of the national liberation struggle and the historic events on Vis is that, even in the most

difficult circumstances, the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia--united in brotherhood and common interests--have the strength and know how to overcome difficulties and continue achieving successes in the development of their socialist community."

"It cannot and will not be any different now because--firmly committed to Tito's strategic line--we have the strength and ability to find solutions for overcoming the difficulties the country faces," Premier Milka Planinc underlined.

CSO: 2800/504

## BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINIA PARTY BODY DEBATES INFORMATION MEDIA

LD201953 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 20 Sep 84

[Text] Sarajevo, 20 Sep (TANJUG)--In these troubled times, when many major issues of historical significance are being decided, pages of some of our newspapers and the program content of the radio and television give the impression of their being compiled for "peacetime" purposes. This was stated today at the session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Commission for Ideological Questions concerning information media. During the session, discussion was held on the place and role of the press in monitoring the course of discussion on the draft proposals of the 13th LCY Central Committee session.

Routine behavior, lack of imagination, [word indistinct] of some editorial boards, or even lack of interest in what the discussion is about, are to a great extent reasons behind the existing state of affairs. On the other hand, any attempt to encourage response, particularly when open antisocialist statements are being made by some individuals in the press, is being interpreted as an attempt to control or interfere with the independence of editorial boards and their policy. Quite often response comes too late. Sometimes, there is no response whatsoever to open attacks, lies or insinuations directed against the LC. In cases like these a swift, properly assessed program policy of editorial boards is required.

During the session, particular emphasis was laid on the observer-like attitude of some editorial boards in the cases of increasing number of statements by individuals who, through their views and "programs," spread disunity and question our further development. For instance, the recently published text in NIN by Vojislav Lubarda, in which the author discusses Bosnia and Herzegovina and its great publishing project "Literature of National and Nationalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina" from unacceptable positions, falls into this category. INTERVJU openly presents "standpoints" expressed by Dr Emil Vljajki about the "chances" and the "future" of our system. The columns in DELO, some articles in MLADINA and TELEKS concerning for instance, the possibility of organizing the Olympic Games, have become platforms for attacking our system and disseminating false reports about our society and our leaders.

Of similar nature are statements carried by the triple issue of KNJIZEVNA REC, some texts in DUGA and articles in Ivan Supek's new book published in London. All this, it was pointed out, creates a bad atmosphere within our society, spreads disunity and gives the impression of an apparently chaotic situation. For this reason, as was stated, the press has an exceptionally important role to play, and should respond with its pen and correct editorial policy to these kind of guardians of our system, its opponents and enemies.

CSO: 2800/504

END